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THE

WORKS OF GEORGE HERBERT.

SECOND EDITION.

VOL. I.

COUNTRY PARSON; LIFE AND REMAINS.

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Bemerton.

London. William Pickering. 1838.

THE

REMAINS

OF

THAT SWEET SINGER

OF

THE TEMPLE

GEORGE HERBERT

WISDOM IV X

HE PLEASED GOD AND WAS BELOVED
OF HIM SO THAT WHEREAS
HE LIVED AMONG SINNERS HE TRANS
LATED HIM

LONDON
PICKERING
1841

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PREFACE.

ALTHOUGH more than two hundred years have elapsed since the death of the pious and excellent George Herbert, yet the present is the only edition in which all his works are to be found. Notwithstanding the popularity of his Temple and Country Parson, no attempt has been hitherto made to collect together all his writings, and to print them in a uniform edition. The biographers of Herbert, as well as the authors of all our bibliographical works of reference, have failed to give a correct list of the productions of his pen; and in preparing this edition, it has been necessary to have recourse to many publications which are now forgotten, and with difficulty to be procured. To the present edition, one oration and a few letters have been added which had not before been discovered.

Notwithstanding the care which has been taken to collect all that is known, one letter by Herbert addressed to Bishop Andrewes, written in Greek,* has eluded the editor's search, yet there is little doubt of its existence, and it may hereafter be discovered in some public or private library. For the letters of Herbert contained in the Orator's book at Cambridge, the Publisher is indebted to the kind-

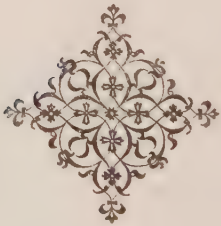
* Walton's Life of Herbert, p. xxvi.

ness of the Rev. Dr. Tatham, Provost of St. John's, late Public Orator.

This volume contains the whole of Herbert's prose writings; also his life by Walton, and that by his first biographer Barnabas Oley. Another volume, similar to the present, contains his Temple and other Poems, which, together, comprise all the works known to be extant.

Concerning Herbert's exemplary character and life nothing need be added, as the pages which follow form the best testimony. But to conclude, no words can be more expressive than those of Cotton to his friend Walton, in which the sweetness and piety of Herbert's disposition are described with the admiration they deserve:

> Where, with a soul composed of harmonies
> Like a sweet swan, he warbles as he dies
> His Maker's praise, and his own obsequies.



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THE

LIFE OF MR. GEORGE HERBERT,

BY

IZAAK WALTON.

He pleased God, and was beloved of him: so that whereas he lived among sinners, he translated him.

WISDOM OF SOLOMON, iv. 10.

TO HIS VERY WORTHY AND MUCH HONOURED FRIEND

MR. IZAAK WALTON,

UPON HIS EXCELLENT LIFE OF MR. GEORGE HERBERT.

I.

HEAVEN'S youngest son, its Benjamin,
Divinity's next brother, sacred Poesie,
No longer shall a virgin reckoned be
(Whate'er with others 'tis) by me,
A female muse, as were the nine;
But (full of vigour masculine)
An essence male, with angels his companions shine,
With angels first the heavenly youth was bred,
And, when a child, instructed them to sing
The praises of th' Immortal King
Who Lucifer in triumph led:
For, as in chains the monster sank to hell,
And tumbling headlong down the precipice fell,
By him first taught, "How art thou fallen, thou morning star?" they said,
Too fondly then, we have fancy'd him a maid:
We, the vain brethren of the rhyming trade;
A female angel less would Urbin's* skill upbraid.

II.

Thus 'twas in heaven: this, Poesy's sex and age;
And, when he thence t'our lower world came down,
He chose a form more like his own,
And Jesse's youngest son inspir'd with holy rage,

* Raphael Urbin, the famous painter.

The sprightly shepherd felt unusual fire,
  And up he took his tuneful lyre;
He took it up, and struck't, and his own soft touches
    did admire.
  Thou, Poesy, on him didst bestow
Thy choicest gift, an honour shew'd before to none;
And, to prepare his way to th' Hebrew throne,
Gav'st him thy empire and dominion;
  The happy land of verse, where flow
Rivers of milk, and woods of laurel grow;
  Wherewith thou didst adorn his brow,
And mad'st his first, more flourishing and trium-
    phant crown.
Assist me thy great prophet's praise to sing,
David, the poet's, and bless'd Israel's King;
And with the dancing echo, let the mountains ring!
Then on the wings of some auspicious wind,
Let his great name from earth be rais'd on high,
And in the starry volume of the sky
    A lasting record find:
  Be with his mighty psaltery join'd;
Which, taken long since up into the air,
And call'd the harp, makes a bright constellation
    there.

III.

Worthy it was to be translated hence,
And there, in view of all, exalted hang:
To which so oft the princely prophet sang,
  And mystic oracles did dispense.
  Though had it still remain'd below,
  More wonders of it we had seen,
How great the mighty Herbert's skill had been;
Herbert, who could so much without it do;
Herbert, who did its chords distinctly know,
More perfectly than any child of verse below.
  Oh! had we known him half so well!

But then, my friend, there had been left for you
Nothing so fair, and worthy praise to do;
Who, so exactly all his story tell,
  That though he did not want his bays,
  Nor all the monuments virtue can raise,
Your hand he did, to eternize his praise.
  Herbert and Donne again are join'd,
  Now here below, as they're above;
These friends are in their old embraces twin'd;
And since by you the interview's design'd,
  Too weak to part them death does prove;
For in this book they meet again, as in one heav'n
    they love,

SAM. WOODFORDE, D.D.

Benstead, April 3, 1760.

IN VITAM GEORGII HERBERTI,

AB ISAACO WALTONO SCRIPTAM.

O QUAM erubesco cùm tuam vitam lego,
  Herberte Sancte, quámque me pudet meæ!
Ego talpa cæcus hîc humi fodiens miser,
Aquila volatu tu petens nubes tuo,
Ego Choïcum vas terreas fæces olens,
Tu (sola namque Urania tibi ex musis placet)
Nil tale spiras; sed sapis cœlum et Deum,
Omnique vitæ, libri et omni, lineâ:
Templúmque tecum ubique circumfers tuum:
Domi-porta cœli, cui domus propria, optima:
Ubi Rex, ibi Roma, Imperii sedes; ubi
Tu, sancte vates, templum ibi, et cœlum, et Deus.
Tu quale nobis intuendum clericis

Speculum Sacerdotale, tu qualem piis
Pastoris ideam et libro et vitâ tuâ
Tu quale Sanctitatis elementis bonæ,
Morumque nobis tradis exemplum ac typum!
Typum,* Magistro nempe proximum Tuo,
Exemplar illud grande qui solus fuit.
Canonizet ergò quos velit Dominus Papa;
Sibique sanctos, quos facit, servit suos
Colátque; sancte Herberte, tu Sanctus meus;
Oraque pro me, dicerem, si fas, tibi.
Sed hos honores par nec est sanctis dari;
Velis nec ipse; recolo te, sed non colo.
Talis legenda est vita Sancti, concio
Ad promovendum quàm potens et efficax!
Per talia exempla est breve ad cœlos iter.
Waltone, macte, perge vitas scribere,
Et penicillo, quo vales, insigni adhuc
Sanctorum imagines coloribus suis
Plures repræsentare; quod tu dum facis
Vitamque et illis et tibi das posthumam,
Lectoris æternæque vitæ consulis.
Urge ergò pensum; et interim scias velim,
Plutarchus alter sis licèt Biographus,
Herberto, Amice, vix Parallelum dabis.
Liceat Libro addere hanc coronidem tuo;
Vir, an Poeta, Orator an melior fuit,
Meliorne amicus, sponsus, an Pastor Gregis,
Herbertus, incertum; et quis hoc facilè sciat,
Melior ubi ille, qui fuit ubique optimus.

JACOB DUFORT, S. T. P.

Decanus Petroberg.

* Sic Christum solens vocavit quoties ejus mentionem fecit.

THE INTRODUCTION.

IN a late retreat from the business of this world, and those many little cares with which I have too often incumbered myself, I fell into a contemplation of some of those historical passages that are recorded in sacred story, and more particularly of what had passed betwixt our blessed Saviour, and that wonder of women, and sinners, and mourners, Saint Mary Magdalen. I call her Saint, because I did not then, nor do now consider her, as when she was possest with seven devils; not as when her wanton eyes, and dishevelled hair, were designed and managed to charm and ensnare amorous beholders: But, I did then, and do now consider her, as after she had expressed a visible and sacred sorrow for her sensualities; as after those eyes had wept such a flood of penitential tears as did wash, and that hair had wipt, and she most passionately kist the feet of hers, and our blessed Jesus. And I do now consider, that because she loved much, not only much was forgiven her; but that, beside that blessed blessing of having her sins pardoned, and the joy of knowing her happy condition, she also had from him a testimony, that her alabaster box of precious ointment poured on his head and feet, and that spikenard, and those spices that were

by her dedicated to embalm and preserve his sacred body from putrefaction, should so far preserve her own memory, that these demonstrations of her sanctified love, and of her officious and generous gratitude, should be recorded and mentioned wheresoever his gospel should be read; intending thereby, that as his, so her name should also live to succeeding generations, even till time itself shall be no more.

Upon occasion of which fair example, I did lately look back, and not without some content (at least to myself) that I have endeavoured to deserve the love, and preserve the memory of my two deceased friends, Dr. Donne and Sir Henry Wotton, by declaring the several employments and various accidents of their lives: And though Mr. George Herbert (whose Life I now intend to write) were to me a stranger as to his person, for I have only seen him; yet since he was, and was worthy to be, their friend, and very many of his have been mine, I judge it may not be unacceptable to those that knew any of them in their lives, or do now know them by mine, or their own writings, to see this conjunction of them after their deaths, without which, many things that concerned them, and some things that concerned the age in which they lived, would be less perfect, and lost to posterity.

For these reasons I have undertaken it, and if I have prevented any abler person, I beg pardon of him, and my reader.

THE

LIFE OF MR. GEORGE HERBERT.

GEORGE HERBERT was born the third day of April, in the year of our redemption 1593. The place of his birth was near to the town of Montgomery, and in that castle that did then bear the name of that town and county; that castle was then a place of state and strength, and had been successively happy in the family of the Herberts, who had long possessed it; and, with it, a plentiful estate, and hearts as liberal to their poor neighbours. A family, that hath been blessed with men of remarkable wisdom, and a willingness to serve their country, and indeed, to do good to all mankind; for which they were eminent: But alas! this family did in the late rebellion suffer extremely in their estates; and the heirs of that castle saw it laid level with that earth that was too good to bury those wretches that were the cause of it.

The father of our George was Richard Herbert,* the son of Edward Herbert, Knight, the son of Richard Herbert, Knight, the son of the famous Sir Richard Herbert of Colebrook, in the county of Monmouth, Banneret, who was the youngest

* Of Blackehall, in Montgomery, Esq.

brother of that memorable William Herbert, Earl of Pembroke, that lived in the reign of our King Edward IV.

His mother was Magdalen Newport, the youngest daughter of Sir Richard, and sister to Sir Francis Newport, of High Arkall, in the county of Salop, Knight, and grandfather of Francis Lord Newport, now Comptroller of his Majesty's Household. A family that for their loyalty have suffered much in their estates, and seen the ruin of that excellent structure, where their ancestors have long lived. and been memorable for their hospitality.

This mother of George Herbert (of whose person, wisdom, and virtue, I intend to give a true account in a seasonable place) was the happy mother of seven sons and three daughters, which she would often say, was *Job's number*, and *Job's distribution;* and, as often bless God, that they were neither defective in their shapes or in their reason; and very often reprove them that did not praise God for so great a blessing. I shall give the reader a short account of their names, and not say much of their fortunes.

Edward, the eldest, was first made Knight of the Bath, at that glorious time of our late Prince Henry's being installed Knight of the Garter; and after many years' useful travel, and the attainment of many languages, he was by King James sent Ambassador resident to the then French King, Lewis XIII. There he continued about two years;

but he could not subject himself to a compliance with the humours of the Duke de Luines, who was then the great and powerful favourite at court; so that, upon a complaint to our King, he was called back into England in some displeasure; but at his return he gave such an honourable account of his employment, and so justified his comportment to the Duke, and all the Court, that he was suddenly sent back upon the same embassy, from which he returned in the beginning of the reign of our good King Charles I. who made him first Baron of Castle-Island; and not long after of Cherbury, in the county of Salop: He was a man of great learning and reason, as appears by his printed book "De Veritate;" and by his "History of the Reign of King Henry VIII." and by several other tracts.

The second and third brothers were Richard and William, who ventured their lives to purchase honour in the wars of the Low Countries, and died officers in that employment. Charles was the fourth, and died Fellow of New College in Oxford. Henry was the sixth, who became a menial servant to the Crown, in the days of King James, and hath continued to be so for fifty years; during all which time he hath been Master of the Revels; a place that requires a diligent wisdom, with which God hath blessed him. The seventh son was Thomas, who being made captain of a ship in that fleet with which Sir Robert Mansell was sent against Algiers, did there shew a fortunate and true English valour.

Of the three sisters I need not say more, than that they were all married to persons of worth, and plentiful fortunes; and lived to be examples of virtue, and to do good in their generations.

I now come to give my intended account of George, who was the fifth of those seven brothers.

George Herbert spent much of his childhood in a sweet content under the eye and care of his prudent mother, and the tuition of a chaplain or tutor to him, and two of his brothers, in her own family (for she was then a widow), where he continued till about the age of twelve years; and being at that time well instructed in the rules of grammar, he was not long after commended to the care of Dr. Neale, who was then Dean of Westminster, and by him to the care of Mr. Ireland, who was then chief master of that school; where the beauties of his pretty behaviour and wit shined and became so eminent and lovely in this his innocent age, that he seemed to be marked out for piety, and to become the care of heaven, and of a particular good angel to guard and guide him. And thus he continued in that school, till he came to be perfect in the learned languages, and especially in the Greek tongue, in which he after proved an excellent critic.

About the age of fifteen (he being then a King's Scholar) he was elected out of that school for Trinity College in Cambridge, to which place he was transplanted about the year 1608; and his prudent

mother, well knowing that he might easily lose or lessen that virtue and innocence, which her advice and example had planted in his mind, did therefore procure the generous and liberal Dr. Nevil, who was then Dean of Canterbury, and Master of that College, to take him into his particular care, and provide him a tutor; which he did most gladly undertake; for he knew the excellencies of his mother, and how to value such a friendship.

This was the method of his education, till he was settled in Cambridge, where we will leave him in his study, till I have paid my promised account of his excellent mother, and I will endeavour to make it short.

I have told her birth, her marriage, and the number of her children, and have given some short account of them; I shall next tell the reader, that her husband died when our George was about the age of four years: I am next to tell that she continued twelve years a widow; that she then married happily to a noble gentlemen,* the brother and heir of the Lord Danvers, Earl of Danby, who did highly value both her person and the most excellent endowments of her mind.

In this time of her widowhood, she being desirous to give Edward, her eldest son, such advantages of learning and other education as might suit his birth and fortune, and thereby make him the

* Sir John Danvers.

more fit for the service of his country, did at his being of a fit age remove from Montgomery Castle with him, and some of her younger sons, to Oxford; and having entered Edward into Queen's College, and provided him a fit tutor, she commended him to his care; yet she continued there with him, and still kept him in a moderate awe of herself, and so much under her own eye, as to see and converse with him daily: but she managed this power over him without any such rigid sourness, as might make her company a torment to her child, but with such a sweetness and compliance with the recreations and pleasures of youth, as did incline him willingly to spend much of his time in the company of his dear and careful mother; which was to her great content: for she would often say, "That as our bodies take a nourishment suitable to the meat on which we feed; so our souls do as insensibly take in vice by the example or conversation with wicked company:" and would therefore as often say, "That ignorance of vice was the best preservation of virtue; and that the very knowledge of wickedness was as tinder to inflame and kindle sin, and to keep it burning." For these reasons she endeared him to her own company, and continued with him in Oxford four years; in which time her great and harmless wit, her cheerful gravity, and her obliging behaviour gained her an acquaintance and friendship with most of any eminent worth or learning that were at that time in

or near that University; and particularly with Mr. John Donne, who then came accidentally to that place in this time of her being there. It was that John Donne who was after Dr. Donne, and Dean of St. Paul's, London; and he, at his leaving Oxford, writ and left there, in verse, a character of the beauties of her body and mind: Of the first he says,

> No spring nor summer beauty has such grace
> As I have seen in an autumnal face.

Of the latter he says,

> In all her words to every hearer fit,
> You may at revels, or at council sit.

The rest of her character may be read in his printed poems, in that elegy which bears the name of "The Autumnal Beauty." For both he and she were then past the meridian of man's life.

This amity, begun at this time and place, was not an amity that polluted their souls; but an amity made up of a chain of suitable inclinations and virtues; an amity like that of St. Chrysostom's to his dear and virtuous Olympias; whom, in his letters, he calls his *Saint;* or an amity, indeed more like that of St. Hierom to his Paula; whose affection to her was such that he turned poet in his old age, and then made her epitaph; *wishing all his body were turned into tongues, that he might declare her just praises to posterity.* And this amity betwixt her and Mr. Donne was begun in a

happy time for him, he being then near to the fortieth year of his age (which was some years before he entered into Sacred Orders); a time when his necessities needed a daily supply for the support of his wife, seven children, and a family: And in this time she proved one of his most bountiful benefactors; and he as grateful an acknowledger of it. You may take one testimony for what I have said of these two worthy persons, from this following letter and sonnet.

"MADAM,

"YOUR favours to me are every where; I use them, and have them. I enjoy them at London, and leave them there; and yet find them at Micham. Such riddles as these become things unexpressible; and such is your goodness. I was almost sorry to find your servant here this day, because I was loth to have any witness of my not coming home last night, and indeed of my coming this morning: But my not coming was excusable, because earnest business detained me; and my coming this day is by the example of your St. Mary Magdalen, who rose early upon Sunday, to seek that which she loved most; and so did I. And, from her and myself, I return such thanks as are due to one to whom we owe all the good opinion, that they whom we need most have of us. By this messenger, and on this good day, I commit the inclosed holy hymns and sonnets (which for the matter, not the work-

manship, have yet escaped the fire), to your judgment, and to your protection too, if you think them worthy of it; and I have appointed this inclosed sonnet to usher them to your happy hand.

"Your unworthiest servant,

"Unless your accepting him to be so

"Have mended him,

"JO. DONNE."

Micham, July 11, 1607.

"TO THE LADY MAGDALEN HERBERT; OF ST. MARY MAGDALEN.

Her of your name, whose fair inheritance
Bethina was, and jointure Magdalo;
An active faith so highly did advance,
That she once knew more than the Church did know,
The resurrection; so much good there is
Deliver'd of her, that some fathers be
Loth to believe one woman could do this;
But think these Magdalens were two or three.
Increase their number, Lady, and their fame;
To their devotion, add your innocence;
Take so much of th' example as of the name;
The latter half; and in some recompence
That they did harbour Christ himself a guest,
Harbour these hymns, to his dear name addrest. J. D."

These hymns are now lost to us; but doubtless they were such, as they two now sing in heaven.

There might be more demonstrations of the friendship, and the many sacred endearments betwixt these two excellent persons (for I have many of their letters in my hand) and much more might be said of her great prudence and piety; but my

design was not to write hers, but the life of her Son; and therefore I shall only tell my reader, that about that very day twenty years that this letter was dated, and sent her, I saw and heard this Mr. John Donne (who was then Dean of St. Paul's) weep, and preach her funeral sermon, in the parish-church of Chelsey, near London; where she now rests in her quiet grave; and where we must now leave her, and return to her son George, whom we left in his study in Cambridge.

And in Cambridge we may find our George Herbert's behaviour to be such, that we may conclude, he consecrated the first-fruits of his early age to virtue, and a serious study of learning. And that he did so, this following letter and sonnet, which were in the first year of his going to Cambridge sent his dear mother for a new-year's gift, may appear to be some testimony.

——" But I fear the heat of my late ague hath dried up those springs, by which scholars say, the muses use to take up their habitations. However I need not their help, to reprove the vanity of those many love-poems that are daily writ and consecrated to Venus; nor to bewail that so few are writ, that look towards God and heaven. For my own part, my meaning (dear mother) is in these sonnets, to declare my resolution to be, that my poor abilities in poetry shall be all and ever consecrated to God's glory; and I beg you to receive this as one testimony."

My God, where is that ancient heat towards thee,
  Wherewith whole shoals of martyrs once did burn,
Besides their other flames? Doth poetry
  Wear Venus livery? only serve her turn?
Why are not sonnets made of thee? and lays
  Upon thine altar burnt? Cannot thy love
Heighten a spirit to sound out thy praise
  As well as any she? Cannot thy dove
Out-strip their Cupid easily in flight?
  Or, since thy ways are deep, and still the same,
  Will not a verse run smooth that bears thy name?
Why doth that fire, which by thy power and might
  Each breast does feel, no braver fewel choose
  Than that, which one day worms may chance refuse?
Sure, Lord, there is enough in thee to dry
  Oceans of ink; for, as the deluge did
Cover the earth, so doth thy Majesty:
  Each cloud distils thy praise, and doth forbid
Poets to turn it to another use.
  Roses and lilies speak thee; and to make
A pair of cheeks of them is thy abuse.
  Why should I women's eyes for crystal take?
Such poor invention burns in their low mind
  Whose fire is wild, and doth not upward go
  To praise, and on thee, Lord, some ink bestow.
Open the bones, and you shall nothing find
  In the best face but filth; when, Lord, in thee
  The beauty lies, in the discovery. "G. H."

This was his resolution at the sending this letter to his dear mother; about which time, he was in the seventeenth year of his age; and as he grew older, so he grew in learning, and more and more in favour both with God and man; insomuch, that in this morning of that short day of his life, he seemed to be mark'd out for virtue, and to become

the care of heaven; for God still kept his soul in so holy a frame, that he may and ought to be a pattern of virtue to all posterity, and especially to his brethren of the clergy, of which the reader may expect a more exact account in what will follow.

I need not declare that he was a strict student, because, that he was so, there will be many testimonies in the future part of his life. I shall therefore only tell, that he was made Bachelor of Arts in the year 1611; Major Fellow of the College, March 15, 1615:* And that in that year he was also made Master of Arts, he being then in the 22d year of his age; during all which time, all, or the greatest diversion from his study, was the practice of music, in which he became a great master; and of which he would say, "That it did relieve his drooping spirits, compose his distracted thoughts, and raised his weary soul so far above the earth, that it gave him an earnest of the joys of heaven before he possest them." And it may

* It appears from the Bursar's books of Trinity College, that Mr. Herbert was elected a scholar of the house, May 5, 1609: Minor Fellow, Oct. 3, 1614: and Major Fellow, March 15, 1615. And we learn from the Grace Book of the University of Cambridge, that he was matriculated, Dec. 18, 1609, by the name of Georgius Harbert, the first among the Pensioners of Trinity College; became B.A. in 1612; M.A. in 1616; and on the 21st of October, 1619, was substituted to the office of Orator in the absence of Sir Francis Nethersole, Knight, then abroad on the King's business.

be noted, that from his first entrance into the College, the generous Dr. Nevil was a cherisher of his studies, and such a lover of his person, his behaviour, and the excellent endowments of his mind, that he took him often into his own company, by which he confirmed his native gentleness; and if during this time he expressed any error, it was that he kept himself too much retired, and at too great a distance with all his inferiors; and his clothes seemed to prove, that he put too great a value on his parts and parentage.

This may be some account of his disposition and of the employment of his time, till he was Master of Arts, which was anno 1615; and in the year 1619 he was chosen Orator for the University. His two precedent Orators, were Sir Robert Naunton and Sir Francis Nethersole: The first was not long after made Secretary of State; and Sir Francis not very long after his being Orator, was made Secretary to the Lady Elizabeth Queen of Bohemia. In this place of Orator, our George Herbert continued eight years, and managed it with as becoming and grave a gaiety as any had ever before or since his time. For "he had acquired great learning, and was blest with a high fancy, a civil and sharp wit, and with a natural elegance, both in his behaviour, his tongue, and his pen." Of all which, there might be very many particular evidences, but I will limit myself to the mention of but three.

And the first notable occasion of shewing his fitness for this employment of Orator was manifested in a letter to King James upon the occasion of his sending that University his book, called "Basilicon Doron;" and their Orator was to acknowledge this great honour, and return their gratitude to his Majesty for such a condescension, at the close of which letter* he writ,

"Quid Vaticanam Bodleianamque objicis hospes!
Unicus est nobis Bibliotheca Liber."

This letter was writ in such excellent Latin, was so full of conceits, and all the expressions so suited to the genius of the King, that he inquired the orator's name, and then asked William Earl of Pembroke, if he knew him? whose answer was, "That he knew him very well, and that he was his kinsman; but he loved him more for his learning and virtue, than for that he was of his name and family." At which answer the King smiled, and asked the Earl leave, "That he might love him too; for he took him to be the jewel of that University."

The next occasion he had and took to shew his great abilities was with them, to shew also his great affection to that church in which he received his baptism, and of which he professed himself a member; and the occasion was this: There was one Andrew Melvin, a minister of the Scotch church, and rector of St. Andrews, who, by a long and constant converse, with a discontented part of

* This letter will be found at the end of this volume.

that clergy which opposed Episcopacy, became at last to be a chief leader of that faction; and had proudly appeared to be so to King James, when he was but King of that nation, who, the second year after his coronation in England, convened a part of the Bishops and other learned Divines of his church to attend him at Hampton-Court, in order to a friendly conference with some dissenting brethren, both of this, and the Church of Scotland: Of which Scotch party, Andrew Melvin was one;* and he being a man of learning, and inclined to satirical poetry, had scattered many malicious bitter verses against our liturgy, our ceremonies, and our church government; which were by some of that party so magnified for the wit, that they were therefore brought into Westminster School, where Mr. George Herbert then, and often after, made such answers to them, and such reflections on him and his kirk, as might unbeguile any man that was not too deeply pre-engaged in such a quarrel.

But to return to Mr. Melvin at Hampton-Court Conference, he there appeared to be a man of an

* Andrew Melville was not present at the celebrated conference held at Hampton-Court, in the first year of King James I. upon the complaint of the Puritans against the ceremonies and the liturgy of the Church of England. He was summoned to appear before the King and Council in 1604. In the first edition of "Mr. Walton's Life of Mr. George Herbert," Melville is described to be "Master of a great wit; a wit full of knots and clenches; a wit sharp and satirical; exceeded, I think, by none of that nation, but their Buchanan."

unruly wit, of a strange confidence, of so furious a zeal, and of so ungoverned passions, that his insolence to the King, and others at this Conference, lost him both his rectorship of St. Andrews, and his liberty too: For his former verses and his present reproaches there used against the church and state, caused him to be committed prisoner to the Tower of London, where he remained very angry for three years. At which time of his commitment, he found the Lady Arabella, an innocent prisoner there; and he pleased himself much in sending the next day after his commitment, these two verses to the good Lady; which I will underwrite, because they may give the reader a taste of his others, which were like these—

> "Causa tibi mecum est communis carceris: Ara-
> Bella tibi causa est, Araque sacra mihi."

I shall not trouble my reader with an account of his enlargement from that prison, or his death; but tell him Mr. Herbert's verses were thought so worthy to be preserved, that Dr. Duport, the learned Dean of Peterborough, hath lately collected and caused many of them to be printed, as an honourable memorial of his friend Mr. George Herbert, and the cause he undertook.*

And, in order to my third and last observation of his great abilities, it will be needful to declare, that about this time King James came very often to hunt at Newmarket and Royston, and was almost

* These verses will be found at the end of the poems.

as often invited to Cambridge, where his entertainment was comedies suited to his pleasant humour; * and where Mr. George Herbert was to welcome him with gratulations and the applauses of an orator, which he always performed so well, that he still grew more into the King's favour, insomuch that he had a particular appointment to attend his Majesty at Royston; where, after a discourse with him, his Majesty declared to his kinsman, the Earl of Pembroke, "That he found the Orator's learning and wisdom much above his age or wit." The year following, the King appointed to end his progress at Cambridge, and to stay there certain days; at which time he was attended by the great Secretary of nature and all learning, Sir Francis Bacon (Lord Verulam), and by the ever memorable and learned Doctor Andrews, Bishop of Winchester, both which did at that time begin a desired friendship with our Orator. Upon whom, the first put such a value on his judgment, that he usually desired his approbation, before he would expose any of his books to be printed, and thought him so worthy of his friendship, that having translated many of the prophet David's psalms into English verse, he made George Herbert his patron, by a public dedication† of them to him, as the best judge of divine poetry. And for the learned Bishop, it is

* Albumazar. Ignoramus.

† In the following words: "To his very good friend, Mr. George Herbert.—The pains that it pleased you to take about some of my writings I cannot forget, which did

observable, that at that time there fell to be a modest debate betwixt them two about predestination and sanctity of life; of both which the Orator did, not long after, send the Bishop some safe and useful aphorisms, in a long letter, written in Greek; which letter was so remarkable for the language and reason of it, that after the reading it, the Bishop put it into his bosom, and did often show it to many scholars, both of this and foreign nations: but did always return it back to the place where he first lodged it, and continued it so near his heart till the last day of his life.

To these, I might add the long and entire friendship betwixt him and Sir Henry Wotton, and Dr. Donne, but I have promised to contract myself, and shall therefore only add one testimony to what is also mentioned in the Life of Dr. Donne; namely, that a little before his death, he caused many seals to be made, and in them to be engraven the figure of Christ crucified on an anchor (the emblem of hope), and of which Dr. Donne would often say,

put me in mind to dedicate to you this poor exercise of my sickness. Besides, it being my manner for dedications to choose those that I hold most fit for the argument, I thought that in respect of divinity and poesy met, whereof the one is the matter, the other the style of this little writing, I could not make better choice: so with signification of my love and acknowledgment, I ever rest,

"Your affectionate friend,

"FR. ST. ALBANS."

Mr. Herbert translated into Latin part of "The Advancement of Learning."

"Crux mihi anchora." These seals he gave or sent to most of those friends on which he put a value: and, at Mr. Herbert's death, these verses were found wrapt up with that seal which was by the Doctor given to him:

"When my dear friend could write no more,
He gave this seal, and so gave o'er.

"When winds and waves rise highest, I am sure,
This anchor keeps my faith, *that* me secure."

At this time of being Orator, he had learnt to understand the Italian, Spanish, and French tongues very perfectly; hoping, that as his predecessors, so he might in time attain the place of a Secretary of State, he being at that time very high in the King's favour; and not meanly valued and loved by the most eminent and most powerful of the Court nobility: This, and the love of a Court-conversation mixed with a laudable ambition to be something more than he then was, drew him often from Cambridge to attend the King, wheresoever the Court was, who then gave him a sinecure, which fell into his Majesty's disposal, I think, by the death of the Bishop of St. Asaph.—It was the same that Queen Elizabeth had formerly given to her favourite Sir Philip Sidney; and valued to be worth a hundred and twenty pounds per annum. With this, and his annuity, and the advantage of his College, and

of his Oratorship, he enjoyed his genteel humour for clothes, and court-like company, and seldom looked towards Cambridge, unless the King were there, but then he never failed; and, at other times, left the manage of his Orator's place to his learned friend Mr. Herbert Thorndike, who is now Prebendary of Westminster.

I may not omit to tell, that he had often designed to leave the University, and decline all study, which, he thought, did impair his health; for he had a body apt to a consumption, and to fevers, and other infirmities, which he judged were increased by his studies; for he would often say, "He had too thoughtful a wit: a wit, like a pen-knife in too narrow a sheath, too sharp for his body." But his mother would by no means allow him to leave the University or to travel: and though he inclined very much to both, yet he would by no means satisfy his own desires at so dear a rate, as to prove an undutiful son to so affectionate a mother; but did always submit to her wisdom. And what I have now said may partly appear in a copy of verses in his printed poems; it is one of those that bear the title of "Affliction;" and it appears to be a pious reflection on God's providence, and some passages of his life, in which he says:

Whereas my birth and spirit rather took
  The way that takes the town:
Thou didst betray me to a ling'ring book,
  And wrap me in a gown:

I was entangled in a world of strife,
Before I had the power to change my life.

Yet, for I threatened oft the siege to raise,
  Not simp'ring all mine age;
Thou often didst with academic praise
  Melt and dissolve my rage:
I took the swéeten'd pill, till I came where
I could not go away, nor persevere.

Yet lest perchance, I should too happy be
  In my unhappiness,
Turning my purge to food, thou throwest me
  Into more sicknesses.
Thus doth thy power cross-bias me, not making
Thine own gifts good, yet me from my ways taking.

Now I am here, what thou wilt do with me
  None of my books will show:
I read, and sigh, and wish I were a tree,
  For then sure I should grow
To fruit or shade, at least, some bird would trust
Her household with me, and I would be just.

Yet though thou troublest me, I must be meek,
  In weakness must be stout:
Well, I will change my service and go seek
  Some other master out:
Ah! my dear God, though I am clean forgot,
Let me not love thee, if I love thee not.

" G. H."

In this time of Mr. Herbert's attendance and expectation of some good occasion to remove from Cambridge to Court, God, in whom there is an unseen chain of causes, did, in a short time, put an end to the lives of two of his most obliging and

most powerful friends, Lodowick Duke of Richmond, and James Marquis of Hamilton; and not long after him, King James died also, and with them, all Mr. Herbert's Court hopes: so that he presently betook himself to a retreat from London, to a friend in Kent, where he lived very privately, and was such a lover of solitariness, as was judged to impair his health more than his study had done. In this time of retirement, he had many conflicts with himself, whether he should return to the painted pleasures of a Court-life, or betake himself to a study of Divinity, and enter into Sacred Orders? (to which his dear mother had often persuaded him)—These were such conflicts, as they only can know, that have endured them; for ambitious desires, and the outward glory of this world, are not easily laid aside; but, at last, God inclined him to put on a resolution to serve at his altar.

He did at his return to London acquaint a Court-friend with his resolution to enter into Sacred Orders, who persuaded him to alter it, as too mean an employment, and too much below his birth, and the excellent abilities and endowments of his mind. To whom he replied, "It hath been formerly adjudged that the domestic servants of the King of heaven, should be of the noblest families on earth: and though the iniquity of the late times have made Clergymen meanly valued, and the sacred mame of Priest contemptible; yet I will labour to make it honourable, by consecrating all my learning, and all my poor abilities, to advance

the glory of that God that gave them; knowing that I can never do too much for him that hath done so much for me, as to make me a Christian. And I will labour to be like my Saviour, by making humility lovely in the eyes of all men, and by following the merciful and meek example of my dear Jesus."

This was then his resolution, and the God of constancy, who intended him for a great example of virtue, continued him in it; for within that year he was made Deacon, but the day when, or by whom, I cannot learn: but that he was about that time made Deacon is most certain; for I find by the records of Lincoln, that he was made Prebendary of Layton Ecclesia, in the diocese of Lincoln, July 15, 1626; and that this Prebend was given him by John, then Lord Bishop of that See. And now he had a fit occasion to show that piety and bounty that was derived from his generous mother, and his other memorable ancestors, and the occasion was this.

This Layton Ecclesia is a village near to Spalden, in the county of Huntingdon, and the greatest part of the parish-church was fallen down, and that of it which stood was so decayed, so little, and so useless, that the parishioners could not meet to perform their duty to God in public prayer and praises: and thus it had been for almost 20 years, in which time there had been some faint endeavours for a public collection, to enable the parishioners to rebuild it, but with no success, till Mr. Herbert

undertook it; and he by his own and the contribution of many of his kindred, and other noble friends, undertook the re-edification of it, and made it so much his whole business, that he became restless till he saw it finished as it now stands: being for the workmanship a costly Mosaic: for the form an exact cross; and for the decency and beauty, I am assured, it is the most remarkable parish-church that this nation affords. He lived to see it so wainscotted, as to be exceeded by none; and, by his order, the reading-pew and pulpit were a little distant from each other, and both of an equal height: for he would often say, "They should neither have a precedency or priority of the other; but that prayer and preaching, being equally useful, might agree like brethren, and have an equal honour and estimation."

Before I proceed farther, I must look back to the time of Mr. Herbert's being made Prebendary, and tell the reader, that not long after, his mother being informed of his intentions to rebuild that church, and apprehending the great trouble and charge that he was likely to draw upon himself, his relations, and friends, before it could be finished, sent for him from London to Chelsea (where she then dwelt), and at his coming said, "George, I sent for you, to persuade you to commit Simony, by giving your patron as good a gift as he has given you; namely, that you give him back his Prebend: For, George, it is not for your weak

body and empty purse to undertake to build churches." Of which he desired he might have a day's time to consider, and then make her an answer: And at his return to her the next day, when he had first desired her blessing, and she given it him, his next request was, "That she would at the age of thirty-three years allow him to become an undutiful son; for he had made a vow to God, that if he were able, he would rebuild that church:" And then showed her such reasons for his resolution, that she presently subscribed to be one of his benefactors; and undertook to solicit William Earl of Pembroke to become another, who subscribed for fifty pounds; and not long after, by a witty and persuasive letter from Mr. Herbert, made it fifty pounds more. And in this nomination of some of his benefactors, James Duke of Lenox, and his brother Sir Henry Herbert, ought to be remembered; as also the bounty of Mr. Nicholas Farrer, and Mr. Arthur Woodnot; the one a gentleman in the neighbourhood of Layton, and the other a goldsmith in Foster-lane, London, ought not to be forgotten: For the memory of such men ought to outlive their lives. Of Mr. Farrer I shall hereafter give an account in a more seasonable place; but before I proceed farther I will give this short account of Mr. Arthur Woodnot:

He was a man that had considered overgrown estates do often require more care and watchfulness to preserve than get them; and considered that

there be many discontents that riches cure not; and did therefore set limits to himself as to desire of wealth: and having attained so much as to be able to show some mercy to the poor, and preserve a competence for himself, he dedicated the remaining part of his life to the service of God; and to be useful for his friends: and he proved to be so to Mr. Herbert; for, beside his own bounty, he collected and returned most of the money that was paid for the rebuilding of that church; he kept all the account of the charges, and would often go down to state them, and see all the workmen paid. When I have said, that this good man was an useful friend to Mr. Herbert's father, and to his mother, and continued to be so to him, till he closed his eyes on his death-bed; I will forbear to say more, till I have the next fair occasion to mention the holy friendship that was betwixt him and Mr. Herbert. From whom Mr. Woodnot carried to his mother this following letter, and delivered it to her in a sickness, which was not long before that which proved to be her last.

A LETTER OF MR. GEORGE HERBERT TO HIS MOTHER, IN HER SICKNESS.

"MADAM,

"AT my last parting from you, I was the better content because I was in hope I should myself carry all sickness out of your family; but since I

know I did not, and that your share continues, or rather increaseth, I wish earnestly that I were again with you; and would quickly make good my wish, but that my employment does fix me here, it being now but a month to our commencement: wherein my absence by how much it naturally augmented suspicion, by so much shall it make my prayers the more constant and the more earnest for you to the God of all consolation. In the mean time, I beseech you to be cheerful, and comfort yourself in the God of all comfort, who is not willing to behold any sorrow but for sin. What hath affliction grievous in it more than for a moment? or why should our afflictions here have so much power or boldness as to oppose the hope of our joys hereafter?—Madam, as the earth is but a point in respect of the heavens, so are earthly troubles compared to heavenly joys: therefore, if either age or sickness lead you to those joys, consider what advantage you have over youth and health, who are now so near those true comforts. ——Your last letter gave me earthly preferment, and, I hope, kept heavenly for yourself. But would you divide and choose too? Our College customs allow not that; and I should account myself most happy if I might change with you: for I have always observed the thread of life to be like other threads or skeins of silk, full of snarles and incumbrances: Happy is he, whose bottom is wound up and laid ready for work in the new Jerusalem.

For myself, dear mother, I always feared sickness more than death; because sickness hath made me unable to perform those offices for which I came into the world, and must yet be kept in it; but you are freed from that fear, who have already abundantly discharged that part, having both ordered your family, and so brought up your children that they have attained to the years of discretion, and competent maintenance. So that now if they do not well, the fault cannot be charged on you, whose example and care of them will justify you both to the world and your own conscience: insomuch, that whether you turn your thoughts on the life past, or on the joys that are to come, you have strong preservatives against all disquiet. And for temporal afflictions, I beseech you consider, all that can happen to you are either afflictions of estate, or body, or mind. For those of estate, of what poor regard ought they to be, since if we had riches, we are commanded to give them away? so that the best use of them is, having, not to have them. But, perhaps, being above the common people, our credit and estimation calls on us to live in a more splendid fashion: But, O God, how easily is that answered, when we consider that the blessings in the holy Scripture are never given to the rich, but to the poor. I never find 'Blessed be the rich,' or, 'Blessed be the noble;' but *Blessed be the meek*, and *Blessed be the poor*, and *Blessed be the mourners, for they shall be comforted.*

And yet, O God! most carry themselves so, as if they not only not desired, but even feared to be blessed. And for afflictions of the body, dear Madam, remember the holy martyrs of God, how they have been burnt by thousands, and have endured such other tortures, as the very mention of them might beget amazement; but their fiery trials have had an end: and yours (which, praised be God, are less) are not like to continue long. I beseech you let such thoughts as these moderate your present fear and sorrow; and know that if any of yours should prove a Goliah-like trouble, yet you may say with David, *That God, who delivered me out of the paws of the lion and bear, will also deliver me out of the hands of this uncircumcised Philistine.* Lastly, for those afflictions of the soul: consider that God intends that to be as a sacred temple for himself to dwell in, and will not allow any room there for such an inmate as grief, or allow that any sadness shall be his competitor. And, above all, if any care of future things molest you, remember those admirable words of the Psalmist: *Cast thy care on the Lord, and he shall nourish thee,* Psal. lv. To which join that of Saint Peter, *Casting all your care on the Lord, for he careth for you,* 1 Pet. v. 7. What an admirable thing is this, that God puts his shoulder to our burden, and entertains our care for us that we may the more quietly intend his service. To conclude, let me commend only one place more to

you (Philip. iv. 4.); St. Paul saith there, *Rejoice in the Lord always: And again I say, rejoice.* He doubles it to take away the scruple of those that might say, what, shall we rejoice in affliction? yes, I say again, rejoice; so that it is not left to us to rejoice or not rejoice; but whatsoever befals us we must always, at all times, rejoice in the Lord, who taketh care of us. And it follows in the next verse: *Let your moderation appear unto all men: The Lord is at hand: Be careful for nothing.*—What can be said more comfortably? trouble not yourselves, God is at hand to deliver us from all, or in all. Dear Madam, pardon my boldness, and accept the good meaning of

"Your most obedient son,

"GEORGE HERBERT."

Trin. Col. May 25, 1622.

About the year 1629, and the 34th of his age, Mr. Herbert was seized with a sharp quotidian ague, and thought to remove it by the change of air; to which end, he went to Woodford in Essex, but thither more chiefly to enjoy the company of his beloved brother Sir Henry Herbert, and other friends then of that family. In his house he remained about twelve months, and there became his own physician, and cured himself of his ague, by forbearing drink, and not eating any meat, no not mutton, nor a hen, or pigeon, unless they were salted; and by such a constant diet he removed

his ague, but with inconveniences that were worse; for he brought upon himself a disposition to rheums and other weaknesses, and a supposed consumption. And it is to be noted that in the sharpest of his extreme fits he would often say, "Lord, abate my great affliction, or increase my patience; but, Lord, I repine not; I am dumb, Lord, before thee, because thou doest it." By which, and a sanctified submission to the will of God, he showed he was inclinable to bear the sweet yoke of Christian discipline, both then and in the latter part of his life, of which there will be many true testimonies.

And now his care was to recover from his consumption by a change from Woodford into such an air as was most proper to that end: And his remove was to Dauntsey in Wiltshire, a noble house which stands in a choice air; the owner of it then was the Lord Danvers,* Earl of Danby,

* Henry Danvers, created Baron of Dauntsey by King James, and Earl of Danby by Charles I. He was Knight of the Bath, and died unmarried, Jan. 20, 1673.

ON LORD DANVERS.

Sacred marble, safely keep
His dust, who under thee must sleep,
Until the years again restore
Their dead, and time shall be no more.
Mean while, if he (which all things wears)
Does ruin thee, or if thy tears
Are shed for him; dissolve thy frame,
Thou art requited: for his fame,
His virtue, and his worth shall be
Another monument to thee....G. HERBERT.

who loved Mr. Herbert so very much, that he allowed him such an apartment in it as might best suit with his accommodation and liking. And in this place, by a spare diet, declining all perplexing studies, moderate exercise, and a cheerful conversation, his health was apparently improved to a good degree of strength and cheerfulness: And then he declared his resolution both to marry, and to enter into the sacred Orders of Priesthood. These had long been the desire of his mother and his other relations; but she lived not to see either, for she died in the year 1627. And though he was disobedient to her about Layton Church, yet in conformity to her will, he kept his Orator's place till after her death, and then presently declined it: and the more willingly, that he might be succeeded by his friend Robert Creighton, who now is Dr. Creighton, and the worthy Bishop of Wells.

I shall now proceed to his marriage; in order to which, it will be convenient that I first give the reader a short view of his person, and then an account of his wife, and of some circumstances concerning both.

He was for his person of a stature inclining towards tallness; his body was very straight; and so far from being cumbered with too much flesh, that he was lean to an extremity. His aspect was cheerful, and his speech and motion did both declare him a gentleman; for they were all so meek

and obliging, that they purchased love and respect from all that knew him.

These, and his other visible virtues, begot him much love from a gentleman, of a noble fortune, and a near kinsman to his friend the Earl of Danby; namely, from Mr. Charles Danvers of Bainton, in the County of Wilts, Esq.; this Mr. Danvers having known him long, and familiarly, did so much affect him, that he often and publicly declared a desire that Mr. Herbert would marry any of his nine daughters (for he had so many); but rather his daughter Jane than any other, because Jane was his beloved daughter: And he had often said the same to Mr. Herbert himself; and that if he could like her for a wife, and she him for a husband, Jane should have a double blessing; and Mr. Danvers had so often said the like to Jane, and so much commended Mr. Herbert to her, that Jane became so much a Platonic, as to fall in love with Mr. Herbert unseen.

This was a fair preparation for a marriage; but alas, her father died before Mr. Herbert's retirement to Dauntsey; yet some friends to both parties procured their meeting; at which time a mutual affection entered into both their hearts, as a conqueror enters into a surprised city, and love having got such possession, governed and made there such laws and resolutions as neither party was able to resist; insomuch that she changed her name into Herbert the third day after this first interview.

This haste might in others be thought a love-phrensy, or worse; but it was not, for they had wooed so like Princes, as to have select proxies; such as were true friends to both parties: such as well understood Mr. Herbert's and her temper of mind, and also their estates, so well before this interview, that the suddenness was justifiable by the strictest rules of prudence: and the more, because it proved so happy to both parties: For the eternal lover of mankind made them happy in each other's mutual and equal affections and compliance; indeed so happy, that there never was any opposition betwixt them, unless it were a contest which should most incline to a compliance with the other's desires. And though this begot, and continued in them, such a mutual love, and joy, and content, as was no way defective; yet this mutual content, and love, and joy, did receive a daily augmentation, by such daily obligingness to each other, as still added such new affluences to the former fulness of these divine souls, as was only improvable in heaven where they now enjoy it.

About three months after his marriage, Dr. Curle, who was then Rector of Bemerton in Wiltshire, was made Bishop of Bath and Wells, and not long after translated to Winchester, and by that means the presentation of a Clerk to Bemerton did not fall to the Earl of Pembroke (who was the undoubted patron of it) but to the King, by reason of Dr. Curle's advancement: But Philip, then Earl

of Pembroke (for William was lately dead), requested the King to bestow it upon his kinsman George Herbert; and the King said, "Most willingly to Mr. Herbert, if it be worth his acceptance:" And the Earl as willingly and suddenly sent it him without seeking: But though Mr. Herbert had formerly put on a resolution for the Clergy; yet, at receiving this presentation, the apprehension of the last great account, that he was to make for the cure of so many souls, made him fast and pray often, and consider for not less than a month; in which time he had some resolutions to decline both the Priesthood and that living. And in this time of considering, "He endured," as he would often say, "such spiritual conflicts as none can think, but only those that have endured them."

In the midst of these conflicts, his old and dear friend Mr. Arthur Woodnot took a journey to salute him at Bainton (where he then was with his wife's friends and relations) and was joyful to be an eye-witness of his health and happy marriage. And after they had rejoiced together some few days they took a journey to Wilton, the famous seat of the Earls of Pembroke; at which time the King, the Earl, and the whole Court were there, or at Salisbury, which is near to it. And at this time Mr. Herbert presented his thanks to the Earl, for his presentation to Bemerton, but had not yet resolved to accept it, and told him the reason why; but that night the Earl acquainted Dr. Laud, then

Bishop of London, and after Archbishop of Canterbury, with his kinsman's irresolution. And the Bishop did the next day so convince Mr. Herbert, *that the refusal of it was a sin*, that a tailor was sent for to come speedily from Salisbury to Wilton, to take measure, and make him canonical clothes against next day; which the tailor did: And Mr. Herbert being so habited, went with his presentation to the learned Dr. Davenant, who was then Bishop of Salisbury, and he gave him institution immediately (for Mr. Herbert had been made Deacon some years before); and he was also the same day (which was April 26, 1630) inducted into the good, and more pleasant than healthful, Parsonage of Bemerton; which is a mile from Salisbury.

I have now brought him to the Parsonage of Bemerton, and to the thirty-sixth year of his age, and must stop here, and bespeak the reader to prepare for an almost incredible story of the great sanctity of the short remainder of his holy life; a life so full of charity, humility, and all Christian virtues, that it deserves the eloquence of St. Chrysostom to commend and declare it! A life, that if it were related by a pen like his, there would then be no need for his age to look back into times past for the examples of primitive piety; for they might be all found in the Life of George Herbert. But now, alas! who is fit to undertake it? I confess I am not; and am not pleased with myself that I must; and profess myself amazed when I consider how

few of the Clergy lived like him then, and how many live so unlike him now: But it becomes not me to censure: My design is rather to assure the reader, that I have used very great diligence to inform myself, that I might inform him of the truth of what follows; and though I cannot adorn it with eloquence, yet I will do it with sincerity.

When at his induction he was shut into Bemerton Church, being left there alone to toll the bell (as the law requires him), he staid so much longer than an ordinary time before he returned to those friends that staid expecting him at the church-door, that his friend Mr. Woodnot looked in at the church-window, and saw him lie prostrate on the ground before the altar: at which time and place (as he after told Mr. Woodnot) he set some rules to himself, for the future manage of his life; and then and there made a vow to labour to keep them.

And the same night that he had his induction, he said to Mr. Woodnot: "I now look back upon my aspiring thoughts, and think myself more happy than if I had attained what then I so ambitiously thirsted for: And I can now behold the court with an impartial eye, and see plainly that it is made up of fraud, and titles, and flattery, and many other such empty, imaginary, painted pleasures: Pleasures that are so empty, as not to satisfy when they are enjoyed. But in God and his service is a fulness of all joy and pleasure, and no satiety. And I will now use all my endeavours

to bring my relations and dependants to a love and reliance on him, who never fails those that trust him. But above all, I will be sure to live well, because the virtuous life of a Clergyman is the most powerful eloquence to persuade all that see it to reverence and love, and at least to desire to live like him. And this I will do, because I know we live in an age that hath more need of good examples than precepts. And I beseech that God, who hath honoured me so much as to call me to serve him at his altar, that as by his special grace he hath put into my heart these good desires and resolutions; so he will, by his assisting grace, give me ghostly strength to bring the same to good effect. And I beseech him that my humble and charitable life may so win upon others, as to bring glory to my Jesus, whom I have this day taken to be my master and governor: and I am so proud of his service, that I will always observe, and obey, and do his will; and always call him Jesus my master, and I will always contemn my birth, or any title or dignity that can be conferred upon me, when I shall compare them with my title of being a Priest, and serving at the altar of Jesus my master."

And that he did so may appear in many parts of his "Book of Sacred Poems;" especially in that which he calls "The Odour." In which he seems to rejoice in the thoughts of that word, *Jesus*, and say, that the adding these words *my master*,

to it, and the often repetition of them seemed to perfume his mind, and leave an oriental fragrancy in his very breath. And for his unforced choice to serve at God's altar, he seems in another place of his poems ("The Pearl," *Matt.* xiii.) to rejoice and say,—"He knew the ways of learning; knew what nature does willingly; and what, when it is forced by fire: Knew the ways of honour, and when glory inclines the soul to noble expressions: Knew the court: Knew the ways of pleasure, of love, of wit, of music, and upon what terms he declined all these for the service of his master Jesus;" and then concludes, saying,

> That through these labyrinths, not my groveling wit:
> But thy silk-twist let down from heaven to me
> Did both conduct, and teach me, how by it
> To climb to thee.

The third day after he was made Rector of Bemerton, and had changed his sword and silk clothes into a canonical coat; he returned so habited with his friend Mr. Woodnot to Bainton; and immediately after he had seen and saluted his wife, he said to her—"You are now a minister's wife, and must now so far forget your father's house, as not to claim a precedence of any of your parishioners; for you are to know, that a Priest's wife can challenge no precedence or place, but that which she purchases by her obliging humility: and I am sure places so purchased do best become them. And let me tell you, that I am so good a herald as

to assure you that this is truth." And she was so meek a wife as to assure him it was no vexing news to her, and that he should see her observe it with a cheerful willingness. And, indeed, her unforced humility, that humility that was in her so original, as to be born with her, made her so happy as to do so; and her doing so, begot her an unfeigned love, and a serviceable respect from all that conversed with her; and this love followed her in all places as inseparably as shadows follow substances in sunshine.

It was not many days before he returned back to Bemerton, to view the church, and repair the chancel; and indeed to rebuild almost three parts of his house, which was fallen down, or decayed, by reason of his predecessor's living at a better parsonage-house, namely, at Minal, sixteen or twenty miles from this place. At which time of Mr. Herbert's coming alone to Bemerton, there came to him a poor old woman, with an intent to acquaint him with her necessitous condition, as also with some troubles of her mind; but after she had spoke some few words to him, she was surprised with a fear, and that begot a shortness of breath, so that her spirits and speech failed her; which he perceiving, did so compassionate her, and was so humble, that he took her by the hand, and said, "Speak, good mother, be not afraid to speak to me; for I am a man that will hear you with patience; and will relieve your necessities too, if

I be able; and this I will do willingly; and therefore, mother, be not afraid to acquaint me with what you desire."—After which comfortable speech, he again took her by the hand, made her sit down by him, and understanding she was of his parish, he told her, "he would be acquainted with her, and take her into his care:" and having with patience heard and understood her wants (and it is some relief for a poor body to be but heard with patience), he, like a Christian clergyman, comforted her by his meek behaviour and counsel; but because that cost him nothing, he relieved her with money too, and so sent her home with a cheerful heart, praising God and praying for him. Thus worthy and (like David's blessed man) thus lowly was Mr. George Herbert in his own eyes, and thus lovely in the eyes of others.

At his return that night to his wife at Bainton, he gave her an account of the passages betwixt him and the poor woman; with which she was so affected that she went next day to Salisbury, and there bought a pair of blankets, and sent them as a token of her love to the poor woman; and with them a message, "that she would see and be acquainted with her when her house was built at Bemerton."

There be many such passages both of him and his wife, of which some few will be related; but I shall first tell that he hasted to get the parish-church repaired; then to beautify the chapel (which

stands near his house), and that at his own great charge. He then proceeded to rebuild the greatest part of the parsonage-house, which he did also very completely, and at his own charge; and having done this good work, he caused these verses to be writ upon, or engraven in, the mantle of the chimney in his hall:

TO MY SUCCESSOR.

If thou chance for to find
A new house to thy mind,
And built without thy cost:
  Be good to the poor,
  As God gives thee store,
And then my labour's not lost.

We will now, by the reader's favour, suppose him fixed at Bemerton, and grant him to have seen the church repaired, and the chapel belonging to it very decently adorned, at his own great charge (which is a real truth); and having now fixed him there, I shall proceed to give an account of the rest of his behaviour both to his parishioners, and those many others that knew and conversed with him.

Doubtless Mr. Herbert had considered and given rules to himself for his Christian carriage both to God and man, before he entered into Holy Orders. And it is not unlike, but that he renewed those resolutions at his prostration before the holy altar, at his induction into the church of Bemerton; but as yet he was but a Deacon, and therefore longed

for the next Ember-week, that he might be ordained Priest, and made capable of administering both the sacraments. At which time the Rev. Dr. Humphrey Henchman, now Lord Bishop of London, (who does not mention him but with some veneration for his life and excellent learning), tells me, "He laid his hand on Mr. Herbert's head, and alas! within less than three years lent his shoulder to carry his dear friend to his grave."

And that Mr. Herbert might the better preserve those holy rules which such a Priest as he intended to be ought to observe: and that time might not insensibly blot them out of his memory, but that the next year might show him his variations from this year's resolutions; he, therefore, did set down his rules, then resolved upon, in that order as the world now sees them printed in a little book called "The Country Parson," in which some of his rules are:

The Parson's knowledge.
The Parson on Sundays.
The Parson praying.
The Parson preaching.
The Parson's charity.
The Parson comforting the sick.
The Parson arguing.
The Parson condescending.
The Parson in his journey.
The Parson in his mirth.
The Parson with his churchwardens.
The Parson blessing the People.

And his behaviour toward God and man may be said to be a practical comment on these and the other holy rules set down in that useful book. A book so full of plain, prudent, and useful rules,

that that country parson, that can spare 12*d.* and yet wants it, is scarce excusable: because it will both direct him what he ought to do, and convince him for not having done it.

At the death of Mr. Herbert, this book fell into the hands of his friend Mr. Woodnot: and he commended it into the trusty hands of Mr. Barnabas Oley, who published it with a most conscientious and excellent preface; from which I have had some of those truths, that are related in this Life of Mr. Herbert. The text for his first sermon was taken out of Solomon's Proverbs, and the words were, "Keep thy heart with all diligence." In which first sermon he gave his parishioners many necessary, holy, safe rules for the discharge of a good conscience both to God and man. And delivered his sermon after a most florid manner, both with great learning and eloquence. But, at the close of this sermon, told them, "That should not be his constant way of preaching; for since Almighty God does not intend to lead men to heaven by hard questions, he would not therefore fill their heads with unnecessary notions; but that for their sakes, his language and his expressions should be more plain and practical in his future sermons." And he then made it his humble request, "that they would be constant to the afternoon's service and catechising;" and showed them convincing reasons why he desired it; and his

obliging example and persuasions brought them to a willing conformity to his desires.

The texts for all his future sermons (which God knows were not many) were constantly taken out of the gospel for the day; and he did as constantly declare why the Church did appoint that portion of Scripture to be that day read; and in what manner the collect for every Sunday does refer to the gospel or to the epistle then read to them; and, that they might pray with understanding, he did usually take occasion to explain, not only the collect for every particular Sunday, but the reasons of all the other collects and responses in our church-service; and made it appear to them, that the whole service of the church was a reasonable, and therefore an acceptable sacrifice to God; as namely, that we begin with confession "of ourselves to be vile miserable sinners;" and that we begin so because till we have confessed ourselves to be such, we are not capable of that mercy which we acknowledge we need and pray for: but having, in the prayer of our Lord, begged pardon for those sins which we have confessed; and hoping that as the priest hath declared our absolution, so by our public confession, and real repentance, we have obtained that pardon; then we dare and do proceed to beg of the Lord, "to open our lips, that our mouths may show forth his praise:" for, till then, we are neither able nor worthy to praise him. But

this being supposed, we are then fit to say, Glory be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost;" and fit to proceed to a further service of our God, in the collects, and psalms, and lauds, that follow in the service.

And as to these psalms and lauds, he proceeded to inform them, why they were so often, and some of them daily, repeated in our church-service; namely, the psalms every month, because they be an historical and thankful repetition of mercies past; and such a composition of prayers and praises as ought to be repeated often and publicly, for "with such sacrifices God is honoured and well-pleased." This for the psalms.

And for the hymns and lauds, appointed to be daily repeated or sung after the first and second lessons are read to the congregation: he proceeded to inform them, that it was most reasonable, after they have heard the will and goodness of God declared or preached by the Priest in his reading the two chapters, that it was then a seasonable duty to rise up and express their gratitude to Almighty God for those his mercies to them, and to all mankind; and then to say with the blessed Virgin, that their "souls do magnify the Lord, and that their spirits do also rejoice in God their Saviour." And that it was their duty also to rejoice with Simeon in his song, and say with him, that their "eyes have" also "seen their salvation;" for they have seen that salvation which was but pro-

phesied till his time: And he then broke out into those expressions of joy that he did see it; but they lived to see it daily in the history of it, and therefore, ought daily to rejoice, and daily to offer up their sacrifices of praise to their God for that particular mercy. A service which is now the constant employment of that blessed Virgin and Simeon, and all those blessed saints that are possessed of heaven; and where they are at this time interchangeably and constantly singing, "Holy, holy, holy Lord God, glory be to God on high, and on earth peace." And he taught them, that to do this was an acceptable service to God; because the prophet David says, in his Psalms, "He that praiseth the Lord honoureth him."

He made them to understand how happy they be that are freed from the incumbrances of that law which our forefathers groaned under; namely, from the legal sacrifices, and from the many ceremonies of the Levitical law; freed from circumcision, and from the strict observation of the Jewish Sabbath, and the like. And he made them know, that having received so many and so great blessings, by being born since the days of our Saviour, it must be an acceptable sacrifice to Almighty God for them to acknowledge those blessings daily, and stand up and worship, and say as Zacharias did, "Blessed be the Lord God of Israel, for he hath (in our days) visited and redeemed his people; and (he hath in our days) remembered and showed that

mercy which, by the mouth of the prophets, he promised to our forefathers; and this he hath done according to his holy covenant made with them." And he made them to understand that we live to see and enjoy the benefit of it in his birth, in his life, his passion, his resurrection, and ascension into heaven, where he now sits sensible of all our temptations and infirmities; and where he is at this present time making intercession for us, to his, and our Father; and therefore they ought daily to express their public gratulations, and say daily with Zacharias, "Blessed be the Lord God of Israel, that hath thus visited and thus redeemed his people."—These were some of the reasons by which Mr. Herbert instructed his congregation for the use of the psalms and the hymns appointed to be daily sung or said in the church-service.

He informed them also, when the Priest did pray only for the congregation and not for himself; and when they did only pray for him, as namely, after the repetition of the creed, before he proceeds to pray the Lord's prayer, or any of the appointed collects, the priest is directed to kneel down, and pray for them, saying, "The Lord be with you;" and when they pray for him, saying, "And with thy spirit;" and then they join together in the following collects, and he assured them, that when there is such mutual love, and such joint prayers offered for each other, then the holy angels look down from heaven, and are ready to carry such

charitable desires to God Almighty, and he as ready to receive them; and that a Christian congregation calling thus upon God, with one heart and one voice, and in one reverent and humble posture, look as beautifully as Jerusalem, that is at peace with itself.

He instructed them also why the prayer of our Lord was prayed often in every full service of the Church; namely, at the conclusion of the several parts of that service; and prayed then, not only because it was composed and commanded by our Jesus that made it, but as a perfect pattern for our less perfect forms of prayer, and therefore fittest to sum up and conclude all our imperfect petitions.

He instructed them also that as by the second commandment we are required not to bow down or worship an idol or false god; so, by the contrary rule, we are to bow down and kneel, or stand up and worship the true God. And he instructed them why the Church required the congregation to stand up at the repetition of the creeds; namely, because they did thereby declare both their obedience to the Church, and an assent to that faith into which they had been baptized. And he taught them, that in that shorter creed or doxology so often repeated daily, they also stood up to testify their belief to be, that "the God that they trusted in was one God and three persons; the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, to whom they and the Priest gave glory." And because there had

been hereticks that had denied some of those three persons to be God; therefore the congregation stood up and honoured him, by confessing and saying, "It was so in the beginning, is now so, and shall ever be so world without end." And all gave their assent to this belief, by standing up and saying, *Amen.*

He instructed them also what benefit they had by the Church's appointing the celebration of holydays, and the excellent use of them; namely, that they were set apart for particular commemorations of particular mercies received from Almighty God; and (as Reverend Mr. Hooker says) "to be the land-marks to distinguish times;" for by them we are taught to take notice how time passes by us, and that we ought not to let the years pass without a celebration of praise for those mercies which those days give us occasion to remember; and therefore they were to note, that the year is appointed to begin the 25th day of March, a day in which we commemorate the Angel's appearing to the blessed Virgin, with the joyful tidings that "she should conceive and bear a son, that should be the Redeemer of mankind." And she did so forty weeks after this joyful salutation; namely, at our Christmas; a day in which we commemorate his birth with joy and praise: and that eight days after this happy birth we celebrate his circumcision; namely, in that which we call New-year's day. And that, upon that day which we call

Twelfth-day, we commemorate the manifestation of the unsearchable riches of Jesus to the Gentiles: And that that day we also celebrate the memory of his goodness in sending a star to guide the three Wise Men from the East to Bethlehem, that they might there worship, and present him with their oblations of gold, frankincense, and myrrh. And he (Mr. Herbert) instructed them, that Jesus was forty days after his birth presented by his blessed mother in the Temple; namely, on that day which we call "The Purification of the blessed Virgin St. Mary." And he instructed them, that by the Lent-fast we imitate and commemorate our Saviour's humiliation in fasting forty days; and that we ought to endeavour to be like him in purity. And that on Good Friday we commemorate and condole his Crucifixion; and at Easter, commemorate his glorious Resurrection. And he taught them, that after Jesus had manifested himself to his disciples to be "That Christ that was crucified, dead, and buried;" and by his appearing and conversing with his disciples for the space of forty days after his Resurrection, he then, and not till then, ascended into heaven in the sight of those disciples; namely, on that day which we call the Ascension, or Holy Thursday. And that we then celebrate the performance of the promise which he made to his disciples at or before his ascension; namely, "That though he left them, yet he would send them the Holy Ghost to be their Comforter;"

and that he did so on that day which the Church calls Whitsunday. Thus the Church keeps an historical and circular commemoration of times as they pass by us; of such times as ought to incline us to occasional praises for the particular blessings which we do, or might receive by those holy commemorations.

He made them know also why the Church hath appointed Ember-weeks; and to know the reason why the Commandments, and the Epistles and Gospels were to be read at the Altar or Communion Table; why the Priest was to pray the Litany kneeling; and why to pray some Collects standing; and he gave them many other observations fit for his plain congregation, but not fit for me now to mention, for I must set limits to my pen, and not make that a treatise which I intended to be a much shorter account than I have made it: But I have done when I have told the reader that he was constant in catechising every Sunday in the afternoon, and that his catechising was after his second lesson, and in the pulpit; and that he never exceeded his half hour, and was always so happy as to have an obedient and a full congregation.

And to this I must add, that if he were at any time too zealous in his sermons, it was in reproving the indecencies of the people's behaviour in the time of Divine Service; and of those Ministers that huddled up the church-prayers without a visible reverence and affection; namely, *such as*

seemed to say the Lord's Prayer or Collect in a breath: But for himself, his custom was to stop betwixt every collect, and give the people time to consider what they had prayed, and to force their desires affectionately to God before he engaged them into new petitions.

And by this account of his diligence to make his parishioners understand what they prayed, and why they praised and adored their Creator, I hope I shall the more easily obtain the reader's belief to the following account of Mr. Herbert's own practice, which was to appear constantly with his wife and three nieces (the daughters of a deceased sister) and his whole family twice every day at the church-prayers, in the chapel which does almost join to his parsonage-house. And for the time of his appearing, it was strictly at the canonical hours of ten and four; and then and there he lifted up pure and charitable hands to God in the midst of the congregation. And he would joy to have spent that time in that place where the honour of his *Master Jesus* dwelleth; and there, by that inward devotion which he testified constantly by an humble behaviour and visible adoration, he, like Joshua, brought not only "His own household thus to serve the Lord," but brought most of his parishioners and many gentlemen in the neighbourhood, constantly to make a part of his congregation twice a day: And some of the meaner sort of his parish did so love and reverence Mr. Herbert, that they

would let their plough rest when Mr. Herbert's Saint's-bell rung to prayers, that they might also offer their devotions to God with him; and would then return back to their plough. And his most holy life was such, that it begot such reverence to God, and to him. that they thought themselves the happier when they carried Mr. Herbert's blessing back with them to their labour. Thus powerful was his reason and example, to persuade others to a practical piety and devotion.

And his constant public prayers did never make him to neglect his own private devotions, nor those prayers that he thought himself bound to perform with his family, which always were a set form and not long; and he did always conclude them with that collect which the Church hath appointed for the day or week.—*Thus he made every day's sanctity a step towards that kingdom where impurity cannot enter.*

His chiefest recreation was music, in which heavenly art he was a most excellent master, and did himself compose many divine hymns and anthems, which he set and sung to his lute or viol: And though he was a lover of retiredness, yet his love to music was such, that he went usually twice every week on certain appointed days, to the cathedral church in Salisbury; and at his return would say, "That his time spent in prayer, and cathedral music, elevated his soul, and was his heaven upon earth." But before his return thence

to Bemerton, he would usually sing and play his part at an appointed private music-meeting; and, to justify this practice, he would often say, "Religion does not banish mirth, but only moderates and sets rules to it."

And as his desire to enjoy his heaven upon earth drew him twice every week to Salisbury, so his walks thither were the occasion of many happy accidents to others, of which I will mention some few.

In one of his walks to Salisbury, he overtook a gentleman that is still living in that city, and in their walk together Mr. Herbert took a fair occasion to talk with him, and humbly begged to be excused if he asked him some account of his faith; and said, "I do this, the rather because though you are not of my parish, yet I receive tithe from you by the hand of your tenant; and, Sir, I am the bolder to do it, because I know there be some sermon-hearers that be like those fishes that always live in salt water, and yet are always fresh." After which expression Mr. Herbert asked him some needful questions, and having received his answer, gave him such rules for the trial of his sincerity, and for a practical piety, and in so loving and meek a manner, that the gentleman did so fall in love with him and his discourse, that he would often contrive to meet him in his walk to Salisbury, or to attend him back to Bemerton, and still mentions the name of Mr. George Herbert with

veneration, and still praiseth God for the occasion of knowing him.

In another of his Salisbury walks, he met with a neighbour minister, and after some friendly discourse betwixt them, and some condolement for the decay of piety, and too general contempt of the Clergy, Mr. Herbert took occasion to say, "One cure for these distempers would be for the Clergy themselves to keep the Ember-weeks strictly, and beg of their parishioners to join with them in fasting and prayers for a more religious Clergy."

"And another cure would be for themselves to restore the great and neglected duty of catechising, on which the salvation of so many of the poor and ignorant lay-people does depend; but principally that the Clergy themselves would be sure to live unblamably; and that the dignified Clergy especially, which preach temperance, would avoid surfeiting, and take all occasions to express a visible humility and charity in their lives: For this would force a love and an imitation, and an unfeigned reverence from all that knew them to be such." (And for proof of this, we need no other testimony than the life and death of Dr. Lake, late Lord Bishop of Bath and Wells.) "This," said Mr. Herbert, "would be a cure for the wickedness and growing atheism of our age. And, my dear brother, till this be done by us, and done in earnest, let no man expect a reformation of the manners of the laity; for it is not learning,

but this, this only, that must do it; and till then the fault must lie at our doors."

In another walk to Salisbury, he saw a poor man with a poorer horse, that was fallen under his load; they were both in distress, and needed present help, which Mr. Herbert perceiving, put off his canonical coat, and helped the poor man to unload, and after, to load his horse: The poor man blessed him for it, and he blessed the poor man; and was so like the good Samaritan, that he gave him money to refresh both himself and his horse; and told him, "that if he loved himself, he should be merciful to his beast." Thus he left the poor man, and at his coming to his musical friends at Salisbury, they began to wonder that Mr. George Herbert, who used to be so trim and clean, came into that company so soiled and discomposed; but he told them the occasion: And when one of the company told him "he had disparaged himself by so dirty an employment;" his answer was, "that the thought of what he had done, would prove mnsic to him at midnight; and that the omission of it would have upbraided and made discord in his conscience, whensoever he should pass by that place: For if I be bound to pray for all that be in distress, I am sure that I am bound, so far as it is in my power, to practise what I pray for. And though I do not wish for the like occasion every day, yet let me tell you, I would not willingly pass one day of my life, without comforting a sad

soul, or shewing mercy; and I praise God for this occasion. And now let us tune our instruments."

Thus as our blessed Saviour, after his resurrection, did take occasion to interpret the Scripture to Cleopas and that other disciple which he met with, and accompanied, in their journey to Emmaus; so Mr. Herbert, in his path toward heaven, did daily take any fair occasion to instruct the ignorant, or comfort any that were in affliction; and did always confirm his precepts, by shewing humility and mercy, and ministering grace to the hearers.

And he was most happy in his wife's unforced compliance with his acts of charity, whom he made his almoner, and paid constantly into her hand a tenth penny of what money he received for tithe, and gave her power to dispose that to the poor of his parish, and with it a power to dispose a tenth part of the corn that came yearly into his barn: which trust she did most faithfully perform, and would often offer to him an account of her stewardship, and as often beg an enlargement of his bounty; for she rejoiced in the employment: And this was usually laid out by her in blankets and shoes for some such poor people, as she knew to stand in most need of them. This as to her charity. And for his own, he set no limits to it; nor did ever turn his face from any that he saw in want, but would relieve them, especially his poor neighbours:

to the meanest of whose houses he would go and inform himself of their wants, and relieve them cheerfully if they were in distress; and would always praise God, as much for being willing, as for being able to do it. And when he was advised by a friend to be more frugal, because he might have children, his answer was, "he would not see the danger of want so far off; but being the Scripture does so commend charity, as to tell us, that charity is the top of Christian virtues, the covering of sins, the fulfilling of the law, the life of faith: and that charity hath a promise of the blessings of this life, and of a reward in that life which is to come; being these and more excellent things are in Scripture spoken of thee, O Charity! and that being all my tithes and church-dues are a *deodate* from thee, O my God, make me, O my God, so far to trust thy promise, as to return them back to thee! and by thy grace I will do so, in distributing them to any of thy poor members that are in distress, or do but bear the image of Jesus my master. Sir," said he to his friend, "my wife hath a competent maintenance secured her after my death, and therefore as this is my prayer, so this my resolution shall, by God's grace, be unalterable."

This may be some account of the excellencies of the active part of his life; and thus he continued, till a consumption so weakened him, as to confine him to his house, or to the chapel, which does al-

most join to it; in which he continued to read prayers constantly twice every day, though he were very weak: in one of which times of his reading his wife observed him to read in pain, and told him so, and that it wasted his spirits, and weakened him; and he confessed it did, but said, "his life could not be better spent than in the service of his Master Jesus, who had done and suffered so much for him: But," said he, "I will not be wilful; for though my spirit be willing, yet I find my flesh is weak; and therefore Mr. Bostock shall be appointed to read prayers for me to-morrow, and I will now be only a hearer of them, till this mortal shall put on immortality." And Mr. Bostock did the next day undertake and continue this happy employment, till Mr. Herbert's death. This Mr. Bostock was a learned and virtuous man, an old friend of Mr. Herbert's, and then his curate to the church of Fulston, which is a mile from Bemerton, to which church Bemerton is but a chapel of ease. And this Mr. Bostock did also constantly supply the church-service for Mr. Herbert in that chapel, when the music meeting at Salisbury caused his absence from it.

About one month before his death, his friend Mr. Ferrar (for an account of whom I am by promise indebted to the reader, and intend to make him sudden payment) hearing of Mr. Herbert's sickness, sent Mr. Edmund Duncon (who is now rector of Fryer Barnet, in the county of Middle-

sex) from his house of Gidden Hall, which is near to Huntingdon, to see Mr. Herbert, and to assure him, he wanted not his daily prayers for his recovery; and Mr. Duncon was to return back to Gidden, with an account of Mr. Herbert's condition. Mr. Duncon found him weak, and at that time lying on his bed, or on a pallet; but at his seeing Mr. Duncon, he raised himself vigorously, saluted him, and with some earnestness inquired the health of his brother Ferrar; of which Mr. Duncon satisfied him; and after some discourse of Mr. Ferrar's holy life, and the manner of his constant serving God, he said to Mr. Duncon, "Sir, I see by your habit that you are a Priest, and I desire you to pray with me;" which being granted, Mr. Duncon asked him "What prayers?" to which Mr. Herbert's answer was, "O, Sir, the prayers of my mother the Church of England; no other prayers are equal to them! but at this time I beg of you to pray only the Litany, for I am weak and faint;" and Mr. Duncon did so. After which, and some other discourse of Mr. Ferrar, Mrs. Herbert provided Mr. Duncon a plain supper and a clean lodging, and he betook himself to rest.—This Mr. Duncon tells me; and tells me that at his first view of Mr. Herbert he saw majesty and humility so reconciled in his looks and behaviour, as begot in him an awful reverence for his person; and says, "his discourse was so pious, and his motion so gentle and meek, that after almost

forty years yet they remain still fresh in his memory."

The next morning, Mr. Duncon left him. and betook himself to a journey to Bath, but with a promise to return back to him within five days; and he did so; but before I shall say any thing of what discourse then fell betwixt them two, I will pay my promised account of Mr. Ferrar.

Mr. Nicholas Ferrar (who got the reputation of being called "St. Nicholas" at the age of six years) was born in London, and doubtless had good education in his youth; but certainly was at an early age made Fellow of Clare Hall in Cambridge; where he continued to be eminent for his piety, temperance, and learning. About the 26th year of his age he betook himself to travel: in which he added to his Latin and Greek, a perfect knowledge of all the languages spoken in the western parts of our Christian world, and understood well the principles of their religion and of their manner, and the reasons of their worship. In this his travel he met with many persuasions to come into a communion with that Church which calls itself Catholic; but he returned from his travels as he went, eminent for his obedience to his mother the Church of England. In his absence from England, Mr. Ferrar's father (who was a merchant) allowed him a liberal maintenance; and, not long after his return into England, Mr. Ferrar had, by the death of his father, or an elder brother, or both, an estate

left him, that enabled him to purchase land to the value of four or five hundred pounds a year, the greatest part of which land was at Little Gidden, four or six miles from Huntingdon, and about eighteen from Cambridge; which place he chose for the privacy of it, and for the hall, which had the parish-church or chapel belonging and adjoining near to it; for Mr. Ferrar having seen the manners and vanities of the world, and found them to be, as Mr. Herbert says, "a nothing between two dishes," did so contemn it, that he resolved to spend the remainder of his life in mortifications, and in devotion, and charity, and to be always prepared for death: And his life was spent thus:

He and his family, which were like a little college, and about thirty in number, did most of them keep Lent and all Ember-weeks strictly, both in fasting and using all those mortifications and prayers that the Church hath appointed to be then used: and he and they did the like constantly on Fridays, and on the vigils or eves appointed to be fasted before the Saints'-days; and this frugality and abstinence turned to the relief of the poor; but this was but a part of his charity, none but God and he knew the rest.

This family, which I have said to be in number about thirty, were a part of them his kindred, and the rest chosen to be of a temper fit to be moulded into a devout life; and all of them were for their dispositions serviceable and quiet, and humble and

free from scandal. Having thus fitted himself for his family, he did, about the year 1630, betake himself to a constant and methodical service of God, and it was in this manner:—He, being accompanied with most of his family, did himself use to read the common-prayers (for he was a Deacon) every day at the appointed hours of ten and four, in the parish-church, which was very near his house, and which he had both repaired and adorned; for it was fallen into a great ruin, by reason of a depopulation of the village, before Mr. Ferrar bought the manor: and he did also constantly read the matins every morning at the hour of six, either in the Church, or in an Oratory, which was within his own house; and many of the family did there continue with him after the prayers were ended, and there they spent some hours in singing hymns or anthems, sometimes in the Church, and often to an organ in the Oratory. And there they sometimes betook themselves to meditate, or to pray privately, or to read a part of the New Testament to themselves, or to continue their praying or reading the Psalms; and, in case the Psalms were not always read in the day, then Mr. Ferrar, and others of the congregation, did at night, at the ring of a watch-bell, repair to the Church or Oratory, and there betake themselves to prayers and lauding God, and reading the Psalms that had not been read in the day; and when these, or any part of the congregation, grew weary or faint, the

watch-bell was rung, sometimes before and sometimes after midnight, and then another part of the family rose, and maintained the watch, sometimes by praying or singing lauds to God or reading the Psalms: and when after some hours they also grew weary and faint, then they rung the watch-bell, and were also relieved by some of the former, or by a new part of the society, which continued their devotions (as hath been mentioned) until morning. And it is to be noted, that in this continued serving of God, the Psalter or whole Book of Psalms was in every four and twenty hours sung or read over, from the first to the last verse; and this was done as constantly as the sun runs his circle every day about the world, and then begins again the same instant that it ended.

Thus did Mr. Ferrar and his happy family serve God day and night:—Thus did they always behave themselves, as in his presence. And they did always eat and drink by the strictest rules of temperance; eat and drink so as to be ready to rise at midnight, or at the call of a watch-bell, and perform their devotions to God.—And it is fit to tell the reader, that many of the Clergy that were more inclined to practical piety and devotion, than to doubtful and needless disputations, did often come to Gidden Hall, and make themselves a part of that happy society, and stay a week or more, and then join with Mr. Ferrar, and the family in these devotions, and assist and ease him or them in the

watch by night. And these various devotions had never less than two of the domestic family in the night: and the watch was always kept in the Church or Oratory, unless in extreme cold winter nights, and then it was maintained in a parlour which had a fire in it, and the parlour was fitted for that purpose. And this course of piety, and great liberality to his poor neighbours, Mr. Ferrar maintained till his death, which was in the year 1639.

Mr. Ferrar's and Mr. Herbert's devout lives were both so noted, that the general report of their sanctity gave them occasion to renew that slight acquaintance which was begun at their being contemporaries in Cambridge; and this new holy friendship was long maintained without any interview, but only by loving and endearing letters. And one testimony of their friendship and pious designs may appear by Mr. Ferrar's commending "The Considerations of John Valdesso" (a book which he had met with in his travels, and translated out of Spanish into English) to be examined and censured by Mr. Herbert before it was made public; which excellent book Mr. Herbert did read, and returned back with many marginal notes, as they be now printed with it: and with them, Mr. Herbert's affectionate letter to Mr. Ferrar.

This John Valdesso was a Spaniard, and was for his learning and virtue much valued and loved by the great Emperor Charles V. whom Valdesso

had followed as a cavalier all the time of his long and dangerous wars; and when Valdesso grew old, and grew weary both of war and the world, he took his fair opportunity to declare to the Emperor, that his resolution was to decline his Majesty's service, and betake himself to a quiet and contemplative life, because there ought to be a vacancy of time betwixt fighting and dying. The Emperor had himself for the same, or other like reasons, put on the same resolution: But God and himself did, till then, only know them; and he did therefore desire Valdesso to consider well of what he had said, and to keep his purpose within his own breast, till they two might have a second opportunity of a friendly discourse; which Valdesso promised to do.

In the mean time, the Emperor appoints privately a day for him and Valdesso to meet again, and after a pious and free discourse, they both agreed on a certain day to receive the blessed sacrament publicly, and appointed an eloquent and devout Friar to preach a sermon of contempt of the world, and of the happiness and benefit of a quiet and contemplative life, which the Friar did most affectionately. After which sermon, the Emperor took occasion to declare openly, "That the preacher had begot in him a resolution to lay down his dignities, and to forsake the world, and betake himself to a monastic life." And he pretended he had persuaded John Valdesso to do the like; but

this is most certain, that after the Emperor had called his son Philip out of England, and resigned to him all his kingdoms, that then the Emperor and John Valdesso did perform their resolutions.

This account of John Valdesso I received from a friend, that had it from the mouth of Mr. Ferrar: And the reader may note, that in this retirement John Valdesso wrote his "Hundred and Ten Considerations," and many other treatises of worth, which want a second Mr. Ferrar to procure and translate them.

After this account of Mr. Ferrar and John Valdesso, I proceed to my account of Mr. Herbert and Mr. Duncon, who, according to his promise, returned from the Bath the fifth day, and then found Mr. Herbert much weaker than he left him: and, therefore, their discourse could not be long; but at Mr. Duncon's parting with him, Mr. Herbert spoke to this purpose: "Sir, I pray give my brother Ferrar an account of the decaying condition of my body, and tell him I beg him to continue his daily prayers for me: And let him know, that I have considered, *that God only is what he would be;* and that I am, by his grace, become now so like him, as to be pleased with what pleaseth him; and tell him, that I do not repine, but am pleased with my want of health; and tell him my heart is fixed on that place where true joy is only to be found; and that I long to be there, and do wait for my appointed change with hope and patience."

—Having said this, he did, with so sweet a humility as seemed to exalt him, bow down to Mr. Duncon, and, with a thoughtful and contented look, say to him, " Sir, I pray deliver this little book to my dear brother Ferrar, and tell him, he shall find in it a picture of the many spiritual conflicts that have passed betwixt God and my soul, before I could subject mine to the will of Jesus my Master; in whose service I have now found perfect freedom; desire him to read it: and then, if he can think it may turn to the advantage of any dejected poor soul, let it be made public; if not, let him burn it; for I and it are less than the least of God's mercies."—Thus meanly did this humble man think of this excellent book, which now bears the name of " The Temple; or, Sacred Poems and Private Ejaculations;" of which Mr. Ferrar would say, " There was in it the picture of a divine soul in every page; and that the whole book was such a harmony of holy passions, as would enrich the world with pleasure and piety." And it appears to have done so; for there have been more than twenty thousand of them sold since the first impression.

And this ought to be noted, that when Mr. Ferrar sent this book to Cambridge to be licensed for the press, the Vice-Chancellor would by no means allow the two so much noted verses . . . . .

> Religion stands a tip-toe in our land,
> Ready to pass to the American strand,

to be printed; and Mr. Ferrar would by no means allow the book to be printed and want them; but after some time, and some arguments for and against their being made public, the Vice-Chancellor said, "I knew Mr. Herbert well, and know that he had many heavenly speculations, and was a divine poet; but I hope the world will not take him to be an inspired prophet, and therefore I license the whole book." So that it came to be printed without the diminution or addition of a syllable, since it was delivered into the hands of Mr. Duncon, save only that Mr. Ferrar hath added that excellent preface that is printed before it.

At the time of Mr. Duncon's leaving Mr. Herbert (which was about three weeks before his death) his old and dear friend Mr. Woodnot came from London to Bemerton, and never left him till he had seen him draw his last breath, and closed his eyes on his death-bed. In this time of his decay he was often visited and prayed for by all the Clergy that lived near to him, especially by his friends the Bishop and Prebendaries of the Cathedral Church in Salisbury; but by none more devoutly than his wife, his three nieces (then a part of his family), and Mr. Woodnot, who were the sad witnesses of his daily decay; to whom he would often speak to this purpose: "I now look back upon the pleasures of my life past, and see the content I have taken in beauty, in wit, and music, and pleasant conversation, are now all past by me like a dream, or as a shadow that returns not, and are now all become

dead to me, or I to them; and I see that as my father and generation hath done before me, so I also shall now suddenly (with Job) *make my bed also in the dark;* and I praise God I am prepared for it; and I praise him, that I am not to learn patience now I stand in such need of it; and that I have practised mortification, and endeavoured to die daily that I might not die eternally; and my hope is that I shall shortly leave this valley of tears, and be free from all fevers and pain; and which will be a more happy condition, I shall be free from sin, and all the temptations and anxieties that attend it; and this being past, I shall dwell in the New Jerusalem; dwell there with men made perfect; dwell where these eyes shall see my Master and Saviour Jesus; and with him see my dear mother, and all my relations and friends:—But I must die, or not come to that happy place: And this is my content, that I am going daily towards it; and that every day which I have lived hath taken a part of my appointed time from me; and that I shall live the less time, for having lived this and the day past."—These, and the like expressions, which he uttered often, may be said to be his enjoyment of heaven before he enjoyed it. The Sunday before his death, he rose suddenly from his bed or couch, called for one of his instruments, took it into his hand, and said,

My God, my God,
My music shall find thee,
And ev'ry string
Shall have his attribute to sing.

And having tuned it, he played and sung:

> The Sundays of man's life,
> Threaded together on time's string,
> Make bracelets to adorn the wife
> Of the eternal glorious King:
> On Sundays heaven's door stands ope;
> Blessings are plentiful and rife,
> More plentiful than hope.*

Thus he sung on earth such hymns and anthems as the angels, and he, and Mr. Ferrar, now sing in heaven.

Thus he continued meditating, and praying, and rejoicing, till the day of his death; and on that day said to Mr. Woodnot, "My dear friend, I am sorry I have nothing to present to my merciful God but sin and misery; but the first is pardoned; and a few hours will now put a period to the latter; for I shall suddenly go hence and be no more seen." Upon which expression, Mr. Woodnot took occasion to remember him of the re-edifying Layton Church and his many acts of mercy; to which he made answer, saying, "They be good works, if they be sprinkled with the blood of Christ, and not otherwise." After this discourse he became more restless, and his soul seemed to be weary of her earthly tabernacle; and this uneasiness became so visible, that his wife, his three nieces, and Mr. Woodnot, stood constantly about his bed, beholding him

* See the whole hymn entitled "Sunday," in Mr. Herbert's "Temple."

with sorrow, and an unwillingness to lose the sight of him whom they could not hope to see much longer. As they stood thus beholding him, his wife observed him to breathe faintly, and with much trouble; and observed him to fall into a sudden agony, which so surprised her, that she fell into a sudden passion, and required of him to know how he did? to which his answer was, "that he had passed a conflict with his last enemy, and had overcome him, by the merits of his Master Jesus." After which answer he looked up and saw his wife and nieces weeping to an extremity, and charged them, if they loved him, to withdraw into the next room, and there pray every one alone for him; for nothing but their lamentations could make his death uncomfortable." To which request their sighs and tears would not suffer them to make any reply, but they yielded him a sad obedience, leaving only with him Mr. Woodnot and Mr. Bostock. Immediately after they had left him, he said to Mr. Bostock, "Pray, Sir, open that door, then look into that Cabinet, in which you may easily find my last Will, and give it into my hand:" which being done, Mr. Herbert delivered it into the hand of Mr. Woodnot, and said, "My old friend, I here deliver you my last Will, in which you will find that I have made you my sole executor for the good of my wife and nieces; and I desire you to shew kindness to them, as they shall need it: I do not desire you to be just, for I know you will be so for your own sake:

but I charge you, by the religion of our friendship, to be careful of them." And having obtained Mr. Woodnot's promise to be so, he said, "I am now ready to die." After which words he said, "Lord, forsake me not, now my strength faileth me; but grant me mercy for the merits of my Jesus. And now, Lord—Lord, now receive my soul." And with those words he breathed forth his divine soul, without any apparent disturbance, Mr. Woodnot and Mr. Bostock attending his last breath, and closing his eyes.

Thus he lived, and thus he died like a saint, unspotted of the world, full of alms-deeds, full of humility, and all the examples of a virtuous life: which I cannot conclude better, than with this borrowed observation:

> ..... All must to their cold graves;
> But the religious actions of the just
> Smell sweet in death, and blossom in the dust.

Mr. George Herbert's have done so to this, and will doubtless do so to succeeding generations. I have but this to say more of him, that if Andrew Melvin died before him, then George Herbert died without an enemy. I wish (if God shall be so pleased) that I may be so happy as to die like him.

IZ. WA.

THERE is a debt justly due to the memory of Mr. Herbert's virtuous wife; a part of which I will endeavour to pay, by a very short account of the remainder of her life, which shall follow.

She continued his disconsolate widow about six years, bemoaning herself and complaining that she had lost the delight of her eyes; but more that she had lost the spiritual guide for her poor soul; and would often say, " O that I had, like holy Mary, the mother of Jesus, treasured up all his sayings in my heart; but since I have not been able to do that, I will labour to live like him, that where he now is, I may be also." And she would often say (as the Prophet David for his son Absalom) " O that I had died for him!" Thus she continued mourning, till time and conversation had so moderated her sorrows, that she became the happy wife of Sir Robert Cook, of Highnam, in the county of Gloucester, Knight: And though he put a high value on the excellent accomplishments of her mind and body, and was so like Mr. Herbert, as not to govern like a master, but as an affectionate husband; yet she would, even to him, often take occasion to mention the name of Mr. George Herbert, and say, " that name must live in her memory, till she put off mortality."—By Sir Robert she had only one child, a daughter, whose parts and plentiful estate make her happy in this world,

and her well using of them gives a fair testimony that she will be so in that which is to come.

Mrs. Herbert was the wife of Sir Robert eight years, and lived his widow about fifteen; all which time she took a pleasure in mentioning and commending the excellencies of Mr. George Herbert. She died in the year 1663, and lies buried at Highnam; Mr. Herbert in his own Church, under the altar, and covered with a gravestone without any inscription.

This Lady Cook had preserved many of Mr. Herbert's private writings, which she intended to make public, but they and Highnam House were burnt together, by the late rebels, and so lost to posterity.

I. W.

APPENDIX.

The following Notices of Herbert by Izaak Walton are extracted from his other works.

FOR the life of that great example of holiness Mr. George Herbert, I profess it to be so far a free-will offering, that it was writ chiefly to please myself, but yet not without some respect to posterity: for though he was not a man that the next age can forget, yet many of his particular acts and virtues might have been neglected, or lost, if I had not collected and presented them to the imitation of those that shall succeed us: for I humbly conceive writing to be both a safer and truer preserver of men's virtuous actions than tradition: especially as it is managed in this age. And I am also to tell the reader, that though this life of Mr. Herbert was not writ by me in haste, yet I intended it a review before it should be made public; but that was not allowed me, by reason of my absence from London when it was printing: so that the reader may find in it some mistakes, some double expressions, and some not very proper, and some that might have been contracted, and some faults that are not justly chargeable upon me, but the printer; and yet I hope none so great as may not, by this confession, purchase pardon from a good natured reader.

Walton to the Reader—Collected Lives, 8vo. 1670.

From the Life of Dr. Donne.

And in this enumeration of his friends, though many must be omitted; yet that man of primitive piety, Mr. George Herbert, may not: I mean that George Herbert, who was the author of "The Temple, or Sacred Poems and Ejaculations," a book, in which, by declaring his own spiri-

tual conflicts, he hath comforted and raised many a dejected and discomposed soul, and charmed them into sweet and quiet thoughts; a book, by the frequent reading whereof, and the assistance of that Spirit that seemed to inspire the author, the reader may attain habits of peace and piety, and all the gifts of the Holy Ghost and Heaven, and may by still reading, still keep those sacred fires burning upon the altar of so pure a heart, as shall free it from the anxieties of the world, and keep it fixed upon things that are above. Betwixt this George Herbert and Dr. Donne there was a long and dear friendship, made up by such a sympathy of inclinations, that they coveted and joyed to be in each other's company; and this happy friendship was still maintained by many sacred endearments, of which that which followeth may be some testimony.

TO MR. GEORGE HERBERT,

SENT HIM WITH ONE OF MY SEALS OF THE ANCHOR AND CHRIST.

A sheaf of snakes used heretofore to be my seal, which is the crest of our poor family.

Qui priùs assuetus serpentum fasce tabellas
Signare, hæc nostra symbola parva domùs
Adscitus domui domini.——

Adopted in God's family, and so
My old coat lost, into new arms I go.
The cross my seal in baptism spread below,
Does by that form into an anchor grow.
Crosses grow anchors, bear as thou shouldst do
Thy cross, and that cross grows an anchor too.
But he that makes our crosses anchors thus,
Is Christ, who there is crucify'd for us.
Yet with this I may my first serpents hold;
(God gives new blessings, and yet leaves the old)
The serpent may, as wise, my pattern be,
My poison, as he feeds on dust, that's me.

And, as he rounds the earth to murder, sure
He is my death; but on the cross my cure.
Crucify nature then; and then implore
All grace from him, crucify'd there before.
When all is cross, and that cross anchor grown,
This seal's a catechism, not a seal alone.
Under that little seal great gifts I send,
Both works and prayers, pawns and fruits of a friend.
Oh may that saint that rides on our great seal,
To you that bear his name large bounty deal.

JOHN DONNE.

IN SACRAM ANCHORAM PISCATORIS,

GEORGE HERBERT.

Quòd Crux nequibat fixa clavique additi,
Tenere Christum scilicet ne ascenderet,
Tuive Christum.....

Although the cross could not Christ here detain,
When nail'd unto't, but he ascends again;
Nor yet thy eloquence here keep him still,
But only whilst thou speak'st, this anchor will:
Nor canst thou be content, unless thou to
This certain anchor add a seal, and so
The water and the earth, both unto thee
Do owe the symbol of their certainty.
Let the world reel, we and all ours stand sure,
This holy cable's from all storms secure.

GEORGE HERBERT.

In the Complete Angler. Chap. 1.

But, Sir, lest this discourse may seem tedious, I shall give it a sweet conclusion out of that holy poet, Mr. George Herbert, his divine contemplations on God's providence.

Lord! who hath praise enough, &c.*

* Poems, p. 119.

In the Complete Angler. Chap. V.

Pisc. And now, scholar! my direction for fly-fishing is ended with this shower, for it has done raining. And now look about you, and see how pleasantly that meadow looks; nay, and the earth smells as sweetly too. Come let me tell you what holy Mr. Herbert says of such days and flowers as these; and then we will thank God that we enjoy them; and walk to the river and sit down quietly, and try to catch the other brace of trouts.

"Sweet day! so cool, so calm, so bright."*

Ven. I thank you, good master! for your good direction for fly-fishing; and for the sweet enjoyment of the pleasant day, which is, so far, spent without offence to God or man. And I thank you, for the sweet close of your discourse with Mr. Herbert's verses; who, I have heard, loved angling, and I do the rather believe it, because he had a spirit suitable to anglers, and to those primitive Christians that you love, and have so much commended.

Pisc. Well, my loving Scholar! and I am pleased to know that you are so well pleased with my direction and discourse. And since you like these verses of Mr. Herbert's so well—let me tell you, what a reverend and learned divine [Ch. Harvie] that professes to imitate him, and has indeed done so most excellently, hath writ of our book of Common Prayer; which I know you will like the better, because he is a friend of mine, and I am sure no enemy to angling.

"What! Pray'r by th' book? and common? Yes; why not?†"

* Poems, p. 87. † Poems, p. 231.

A PREFATORY VIEW OF THE LIFE

AND VIRTUES OF THE AUTHOR, AND EXCELLENCIES OF THIS BOOK.*

To the Christian, more designedly, to the clergy-reader of the same time, and rank, and mind, and in like condition with the Epistler. Grace, &c. and recovery, and profit by the ensuing tract.

My poor and dear Brother,

DO not expect (I humbly beseech thee) the high and glorious titles of companion in tribulation, and in the patience of Jesus, &c. I could most willingly (if I thought that I could truly) give thee them; knowing, that what lustre I cast upon thee, would by rebound, light upon myself. But my mouth is stopped: Let God be true, and the justice of God be justified.

1. The reading of those piercing Scriptures, 1 Sam. chap. ii. and iii. Jer. xxiii. Ezek. iii. and xxxiii. Hos. iv. Mal. ii. 2. The view of this ensuing tract; which (me thinks) is not a book of thirty-seven chapters, but a bill of seven times thirty-seven indictments against thee and me: a strange speculum sacerdotale; in its discovery (me thinks) something resembling the secret of the holy Urim: As if this good Bezaleel had invented a living, pure

* By the Reverend Barnabas Oley; prefixed to the first edition of the Country Parson, printed 1652.

looking-glass, in most exact proportions of beauty, that should both present itself as a body of unblemished perfections, and shew all the beholder's deformities at once: that should shew thee both Aaron in the Holy of Holies, before the Mercy-Seat, in all his pure ornaments: and Hophni or Phineas, ravening for their fees of flesh, and wallowing in their lust at the door of the Tabernacle. 3. The reflecting on common conversation in the day of our prosperity, and the paralleling the book of mine own conscience with the author's book (in both which I find myself [not to say thee] written highly defective in every duty the good man commends, and not a little peccant in every particular taxed by him.) These three have convinced, and even enforced me to confess, that I am sure mine (and, I fear, thy) sufferings are not the mere sufferings of pure and perfect martyrs, but of grievous transgressors. Not only under the rods of God's just judgment, but the scorpions of his heavy displeasure, fierce wrath, and sore indignation. Not only from the smoking of God's jealousy, or the sparks of his anger, but the flames of his furnace, (heat seven times more than ever,) yea, even from the furiousness of the wrath of God. Psalm lxxviii. 50.

God's sinking the gates, his destroying the walls, his slighting the strong holds of Zion; his polluting the kingdom, his swallowing the palaces, his cutting off the horn of Israel: God's hating our feasts, his abominating our sabbaths, his loathing our

solemnities, Esa. i. God's forgetting his footstool, his abhorring his sanctuary, his casting off his altar, are (to me) signs that the glory of God is departed to the mountain, Ezek. xi. 23. That God hath in the indignation of his anger despised the king and the priest, Lam. ii. It must be acknowledged sure! that the hand of God hath gone out against us, more than against others of our rank at other times; at least, that God hath not restrained violence against us, so as he did that against those of our profession in the days of old: The portion of the Egyptian priests (that served the ox, the ape, and the onion,) escaped sale in time of the famine. Learned Junius (in his Academia, chap. iv.) says, that the Philistines spared the schools of the prophets in their wars with Israel: and that the Phœnicians, Chaldeans, and Indians were tender over such places: Thus then did God restrain the spirits of princes: yet that God (who in his own law, Lev. xxv. 32, gave the Levites a special privilege of redeeming lands (sold by themselves) at any time, when other tribes were limited to a set time) hath not stayed the madness of the people against us, but that our portions are sold unto others, without redemption.

We must acknowledge that God's word hath taken hold of us, Zec. i. 5. That the Lord hath devised a device against us, hath watched upon the evil, and brought it upon us; For, under the whole heaven hath not been done, as hath been done upon Jerusalem, Dan. ix. 14.

Let us not flatter ourselves presumptuously! The punishment answers the sin, as the wax the seal, and as the mould owns the figure: And let us own both. It is very dangerous to bless ourselves too boldly; God has cursed our blessings, Mal. ii. 2. And that he may bless to us our very curses, Let us take with us words and say, To the Lord our God belong mercies and forgivenesses, and multiplied pardons; to us shame and confusion, as at this day. The most compendious way to get what belongs to God, is, to take to ourselves what belongs to us. If we would judge ourselves, and every man, knowing the plague of his own heart, lay God's dealing to heart; and accepting of our punishment, give glory to God, and humble ourselves under his mighty hand; then shall God exalt us, and accept us, and take away our reproach.

If we shall confess our sins, that, like Simeon and Levi, we have been brethren in evil, have broken the covenant of Levi, have done violence to, and been partial in the law, have made ourselves vile, and therefore are justly, by God, made contemptible and base before the people, Mal. ii. If we shall confess, that we neither understood nor valued our high and holy calling as Christians, much less as ministers of Christ; That we did not thrive kindly, when Providence had planted and watered us in those horns of oil, the two universities; or removed us into country cures, we did not fructify (as this book will shew) in any pro-

portion to his encouragements, and therefore are justly cashiered out of his service, and stript of his rewards: God is faithful and just to forgive us: For, Job xxxiii. 27, He looks upon men; if any say, I have sinned, I have perverted that which was right, and it profited me not; he will deliver his soul from the pit, his life shall see the light.

And now, let none think, that this confession will give advantage to the adversary; They may take, where none is given: They may say, Let the Lord be glorified: By their own confession, we offend not, though we devour them, because they have sinned against the Lord, the habitation of justice, Jer. l. 7. But they will find at last, That to forsake the Levite is a sin; That it is a bitter thing to help forward affliction, when God is but a little displeased: That Jerusalem will be a cup of trembling, and a burdensome stone to every one that cries but Down with it. Woe to thee, O Assur, the rod of God's anger; the staff in thine hand is God's indignation. Thou, Lord, hast ordained him for judgment, and established him for correction; even for our correction, to purify us sons of Levi from our dross; (howbeit, he meaneth not so) and by his hand, who punisheth us not only for that which is sin, to put on us martyrs' robes; by that contrivance both chastening and covering our sins; as the Persians use their nobles, beating their clothes, and saving their persons.

There can be no credit lost by giving glory to

God: Did Achan lose anything by confessing that God had found him out, and his garment, and his wedge? Hath not Adonibezek got a fame of ingenuity, for acknowledging God's art of justicing, in that most exact way of counter passion or retaliation? which is so frequent in these times, though it is not considered. What lost Luther by confessing his personal defects as to God, (though he yielded not a jot in his cause, as to men?) What enemy ever upbraided that to him? or this to the ingenuous learned Cajetan? his humble and seasonable confession upon lasting record in his comments on the 13th verse of the 5th chapter of Saint Matthew's gospel: Ye are the salt—if the salt have lost, &c. The French army had taken Rome, when he was about that text, and offered great abuse to the clergy there. Which he Christianly resenting, inserts this passage, We prelates of the Church of Rome do at this time find this truth verified on us, in a special measure; being by the just judgment of God become a spoil, and a prey, and captives, not to infidels, but to Christians; because we, who were chosen to be the salt of the earth, Evanuimus, were become light persons, and unsavoury, good for nothing but outward ceremonies, and externa bona, the revenues temporal. Hence it is, that both we and this city be trodden under foot this sixth of May, 1527. And that excellent Charles the Fifth is honourable for no one thing more, than for acknowledging the hand of

God upon him, both at that pinch which made him pant out, Jam me ab omnibus desertum video: And upon a lesser occasion than that, namely, when his domestics had left him all alone late at night, and he would needs hold the candle to Seldius, (shewing him the way down the stairs, and up to God,) he said; Thine eyes have seen me environed with great armies; now thou seest me abandoned of mine ordinary servants. I acknowledge this change to come from him with whom is no shadow of change, from the mighty hand of God, and I will by no means withstand it. And it is reported that the Scottish presbyters, sensible of God's hand upon them, are at this time making their addresses to God, by confession of their sins respectively; God grant that (both we and) they may do it right. Though I shall still strive with them about the justice of the first cause; yet about the justness of our persons will I not strive with them, nor about any other matter, save only who shall confess themselves greater sinners to God. I have silenced David, Psal. li, and Ezra, and Nehemiah, and Daniel in their ninth chapters, and cited only these to confirm myself (and thee, brother) in this duty of giving glory to God in this manner, Et confiteantur tibi omnes populi: Even so, true and righteous are thy judgments in all the world, O Lord God Almighty; yea, merciful are they, and far below our deservings.

I hope no man will think, though I speak thus,

that I give him leave to construe my words mathematically, as if there was not an atom or hair of a good man, or man of God in our Church. There were divers primitive (and are at this day, blessed be God, the Lord make them a thousand times more than they are) holy and heavenly souls, vessels chosen and fitted for the service of the sanctuary. I shall be bold to instance in three, who died in peace; few considering (some did) that they were taken away from the evil to come, lest their eyes should see (what their spirits foresaw) what is come on us, on whom the days, not of visitation only, but of vengeance, even the ends of the world are come.

The first of these was Thomas Jackson, D.D. late President of Corpus Christi College in Oxford, and sometime Vicar of St. Nicholas church in Newcastle upon Tyne; two places that must give account to God for the good they had, or might have had by that man; as all scholars must for his neglected works.

The second was Mr. Nicholas Ferrar, of Little Gidding in Huntingtonshire, sometime Fellow Commoner, and Fellow of Clare Hall in Cambridge.

The third was the author of this book, Master George Herbert, Fellow of Trinity College, Orator of the University of Cambridge, and Rector of Bemerton in Wiltshire. All three holy in their lives, eminent in their gifts, signal protestants for their religion, painful in their several stations, precious in their deaths, and sweet in their memories.

First, I will give thee a brief of some confrontments common to them all, and then some of their, at least this author's proper excellencies apart.

1. They all had that inseparable lot and sign of Christ and Christians, Isa. viii. 18, Heb. ii. 13, Luke ii. 34; to be signs of contradiction (or spoken against) men wondered at, and rated at by the world. Doctor Jackson in two particulars suffered much. 1. He had like to have been sore shent by the Parliament in the year 1628, for tenets in divinity, I cannot say, so far driven by him, as by some men now they are with great applause. His approach to unity was very near. Grant me, saith he, but these two things, that God has a true freedom in doing good, and man a true freedom in doing evil; there needs be no other controversy betwixt the opposites in point of providence and predestination. Attrib. Ep. Ded. 2. He had an adversary in England who writ a book against him, with a title not so kindly as might have been devised. It was this; A Discovery of Dr. Jackson's follies: which he bound as an ornament upon him (as Job says), that is, never answered but in the language of the lamb dumb before the shearer, silence and sufferance. And he had one in Scotland who also girded at him, without cause or answer.

And for Mr. Ferrar, he was so exercised with contradictions, as no man that lived so private as he desired to do, could possibly be more. I have heard him say, valuing (not resenting his own) suf-

ferings in this kind, That to fry a faggot, was not more martyrdom than continual obloquy. He was torn asunder as with mad horses, or crushed betwixt the upper and under millstone of contrary reports; that he was a Papist, and that he was a Puritan. What is, if this be not, to be sawn asunder as Esay, stoned as Jeremy, made a drum, or tympanised, as other saints of God were? and after his death, when by injunction (which he laid upon his friends when he lay on his death bed) a great company of comedies, tragedies, love hymns, heroical poems, &c. were burnt upon his grave, as utter enemies to Christian principles and practices (that was his brand), some poor people said he was a conjurer.

And for our author (the sweet singer of the Temple) though he was one of the most prudent and accomplished men of his time, I have heard sober men censure him as a man that did not manage his brave parts to his best advantage and preferment, but lost himself in an humble way; that was the phrase, I well remember it.

The second thing wherein all three agreed, was a singular sincerity in embracing, and transcendent dexterity in defending the Protestant religion established in the church of England. I speak it in the presence of God, I have not read so hearty, vigorous a champion against Rome (amongst our writers of his rank) so convincing and demonstrative as Dr. Jackson is. I bless God for the confirmation which he hath given me in the Christian

religion against the Atheist, Jew, and Socinian, and in the Protestant, against Rome. As also, by what I have seen in manuscript of Mr. Ferrar's, and heard by relation of his travels over the western parts of Christendom; in which his exquisite carriage, his rare parts and abilities of understanding and languages, his morals more perfect than the best, did tempt the adversaries to tempt him, and mark him for a prize, if they could compass him. And opportunity they had to do this, in a sickness that seized on him at Padua, where mighty care was had by physicians and others to recover his bodily health, with design to infect his soul. But neither did their physic nor poison work any change in his religion, but rather inflamed him with a holy zeal to revenge their charity, by transplanting their waste and misplaced zeal (as they were all three admirable in separating from the vile what was precious in every sect or person under heaven) to adorn our Protestant religion, by a right renouncing the world with all its profits and honours, in a true crucifying the flesh, with all its pleasures, by continued temperance, fasting, and watching unto prayers. In all which exercises, as he far outwent the choicest of their retired men, so did he far undervalue these deeds, rating them much below such prices as they set upon them. Upon this design he helped to put out Lessius, and to stir up us ministers to be painful in that excellent labour of the Lord, catechizing, feeding the

lambs of Christ: He translated a piece of Lud. Carbo; wherein Carbo confesseth, that the heretics (i. e. Protestants) had got much advantage by catechizing: but the authority at Cambridge suffered not that Egyptian jewel to be published.

And he that reads Mr. Herbert's Poems attendingly, shall find not only the excellencies of Scripture Divinity, and choice passages of the fathers bound up in metre; but the doctrine of Rome also finely and strongly confuted; as in the poems. To Saints and Angels; The British Church, Church Militant, &c.

Thus stood they in aspect to Rome and her children on the left hand. As for our brethren that erred on the right hand. (Doctor Jackson speaks for himself) and Mr. F. though he ever honoured their persons (that were pious and learned) and always spoke of them with much Christian respect, yet would he bewail their mistakes, which (like mists) led them in some points back again to those errors of Rome which they had forsaken. To instance in one: He that says, preaching in the pulpit is absolutely necessary to salvation, falls into two Romish errors: 1. That the Scripture is too dark; 2. That it is insufficient to save a man: and perhaps a third, advancing the man of Rome, more than they intend him, I am sure. But the chief aim of Master F. and this author, was to win those that disliked our liturgy, catechism, &c. by the constant, reverent, and holy use of them: which,

surely had we all imitated, having first imprinted the virtue of these prayers in our own hearts, and then studied with passionate and affectionate celebration, (for voice, gesture, &c.) as in God's presence, to imprint them in the minds of the people, (as this book teaches,) our prayers had been generally as well beloved as they were scorned. And for my part, I am apt to think, that our prayers stood so long, was a favour by God granted us at the prayers of these men, (who prayed for these prayers as well as in them :) and that they fell so soon, was a punishment of our negligence (and other sins), who had not taught even those that liked them well, to use them aright; but that the good old woman would absolve, though not so loud, yet as confidently as the minister himself.

Lastly, the blessed Three in One did make these three men agree in one point more. That one Spirit, which divides to every man gifts as he pleases, seems to me to have dropt upon these three elect vessels all of them some unction or tincture of the spirit of prophecy. Shall I say, I hope, or fear Mr. Herbert's lines should be verified?

> Religion stands on tiptoe in our land,
> Ready to pass to the American strand.
> When height of malice, and prodigious lusts,
> Impudent sinnings, witchcrafts and distrusts
> (The marks of future bane) shall fill our cup
> Unto the brim, and make our measure up:
> When Seine shall swallow Tiber, and the Thames
> By letting in them both, pollutes her streams:

When Italy of us shall have her will,
And all her kalender of sins fulfill;
Whereby one may foretell, what sins, next year,
Shall both in France and England domineer;
Then shall religion to America flee:
They have their times of gospel, even as we.
My God, thou dost prepare for them a way;
By carrying first their gold from them away;
For gold and grace did never yet agree,
Religion always sides with poverty.
We think we rob them, but we think amiss;
We are more poor, and they more rich by this.
Thou wilt revenge their quarrel, making grace
To pay our debts, and leave our ancient place
To go to them; while that which now their nation
But lends to us, shall be our desolation.

I pray God he may prove a true prophet for poor America, not against poor England. Ride on, most mighty Jesu, because of the word of truth. Thy gospel is a light big enough for them and us; but leave us not. The people of thine holiness have possessed it but a little while, Isaiah lxiii. 15, &c.

When some farmers near the place where Master Ferrar lived, somewhat before these times, desired longer leases to be made them, he intimated, that seven years would be long enough, troublous times were coming, they might thank God if they enjoyed them so long in peace.

But considering the accustomed modesty of Dr. Jackson in speaking of things not certain, I much admire that strange appendix to his Sermons, (partly delivered before the king) about the signs of the times, printed in the year 1637, touching the great

tempest of wind which fell out upon the eve of the fifth of November, 1636. He was much astonished at it, and what apprehension he had of it appears by these words of his: This mighty wind was more than a sign of the time, tempus ipsum admonebat, the very time itself was a sign, and interprets this messenger's voice better than a linguist, as well as the prophets (were any now) could do. Both wind and time teach us that truth often mentioned in these meditations. Thus much the reader may understand, that though we of this kingdom were in firm league with all the nations of the earth, yet it is still in God's power, we may fear in his purpose, to plague this kingdom by his own immediate hand, by this messenger, or by like tempests, more grievously than he hath done at any time, by the famine, sword, or pestilence, to bury many living souls as well of superior as inferior rank, in the ruins of their stately houses or meaner cottages, &c.

And what shall be thought of that which fell from his pen in his epistle dedicatory of his Attributes, written November 20, 1627, and printed 1628, in these words, or more? If any maintain, that all things were so decreed by God before the Creation, that nothing since could have fallen out otherwise than it hath done; that nothing can be amended that is amiss: I desire leave to oppugn his opinion, not only as an error, but as an ignorance, involving enmity to the sweet providence of

God; as a forerunner of ruin to flourishing states and kingdoms, where it grows common, or comes to full height.

Was this a conjecture of prudence? or a censure of the physical influence, or of the meritorious effect of these tenets? or rather, a prediction of an event? Let the reader judge.

In these they did agree: the sequel will show wherein they differed.

This author, Mr. G. Herbert, was extracted out of a generous, noble, and ancient family: his father was Richard Herbert of Blache-hall, in Montgomery, Esq. descended from the great Sir Richard Herbert in Edward the Fourth's time; and so his relation to the noble family of that name, well known. His mother was daughter of Sir Richard Newport of Arcoll, who doubtless was a pious daughter, she was so good and godly a mother: she had ten children, Job's number, and Job's distinction, seven sons; for whose education she went and dwelt in the University, to recompense the loss of their father, by giving them two mothers. And this great care of hers, this good son of hers, studied to improve and requite, as is seen in those many Latin and Greek verses, the obsequious Parentalia, he made and printed in her memory:* which though they be good, very good, yet (to speak freely even of this man I so much honour)

* First printed at the end of Dr. Donne's funeral sermon on her death, preached at Chelsea, 1627, and reprinted in this edition.

they be dull or dead in comparison of his Temple poems. And no marvel; to write those, he made his ink with water of Helicon, but these inspirations prophetical were distilled from above: in those are weak motions of nature, in these raptures of grace. In those he writ flesh and blood. A frail earthly woman, though a mother, but in these he praised his heavenly father, the God of men and angels, and the Lord Jesus Christ, his master; for so (to quicken himself in duties, and to cut off all depending on man, whose breath is in his nostrils) he used ordinarily to call our Saviour.

I forget not where I left him: he did thrive so well there, that he was first chosen fellow of the college, and afterward Orator of the University. The memorials of him left in the orator's book, shew how he discharged the place: and himself intimates, that whereas his birth and spirit prompted him to martial achievements, the way that takes the town; and not to sit simpering over a book; God did often melt his spirit, and entice him with academic honour, to be content to wear, and wrap up himself in a gown, so long, till he durst not put it off, nor retire to any other calling. However, probably he might, I have heard (as other orators), have had a secretary of state's place.

But the good man, like a genuine son of Levi, (I had like to have said Melchisedek) balked all secular ways, saw neither father nor mother, child nor brother, birth nor friends (save in Christ Jesus), chose the Lord for his portion, and his service for

employment. And he knew full well what he did when he received holy orders, as appears by every page in this book, and by the poems called Priesthood, and Aaron: and by this unparalleled vigilancy which he used over his parish, which made him (says that modest author of the Epistle before his poems, N. F. who knew him well) a peer to the primitive saints, and more than a pattern to his own age.

Besides his parsonage, he had also a prebend in the church of Lincoln; which I think (because he lived far from, and so could not attend the duty of that place) he would fain have resigned to Master Ferrar, and often earnestly sued to him to discharge him of it; but Master F. wholly refused, and diverted or directed his charity (as I take it) to the re-edifying of the ruined church of Leighton, where the corps of the prebend lay. So that the church of England owes to him (besides what good may come by this book, towards the repair of us churchmen in point of morals) the reparation of a church material, and erection of that costly piece (of Mosaic or Solomonic work) the Temple, which flourishes and stands inviolate, when our other magnificences are desolate and despised.

These things I have said are high; but yet there is one thing which I admire above all the rest: the right managing of the fraternal duty of reproof is (methinks) one of the most difficult offices of Christian prudence. O Lord! what is then the minis-

terial? To do it as we should, is likely to anger a whole world of wasps, to set fire on the earth. This, I have conjectured, was that which made many holy men leave the world, and live in wildernesses; which, by the way, was not counted by ancients an act of perfection, but of cowardice and poor spiritedness: of flight to shade and shelter, not of fight in dust and blood, and heat of the day. This author had not only got the courage to do this, but the art of doing this aright.

There was not a man in his way (be he of what rank he would) that spoke awry (in order to God) but he wiped his mouth with a modest, grave, and Christian reproof: this was heroical; adequate to that royal law, Thou shalt in any case reprove thy brother, and not suffer sin upon him. And that he did this, I have heard from true reporters, and thou mayst see he had learned it himself, else he never had taught it us, as he does in divers passages of this book.

His singular dexterity in sweetening this art, thou mayst see in the garb and phrase of his writing. Like a wise master builder, he has set about a form of speech, transferred it in a figure, as if he was all the while learning from another man's mouth or pen, and not teaching any. And whereas we all of us deserved the sharpness of reproof, ἔλεγχε ἀποτόμως, he saith, he does this, and he does that; whereas, poor men, we did no such thing. This dart of his, thus dipped, pierces the soul.

There is another thing (some will call it a paradox) which I learned from him (and Mr. Ferrar) in the managery of their most cordial and Christian friendship. That this may be maintained in vigour and height without the ceremonies of visits and compliments; yea, without any trade of secular courtesies, merely in order to spiritual edification of one another in love. I know they loved each other most entirely, and their very souls cleaved together most intimately, and drove a large stock of Christian intelligence together long before their deaths; yet saw they not each other in many years, I think, scarce ever, but as members of one university, in their whole lives.

There is one thing more may be learned from these two (I may say these three) also: namely, that Christian charity will keep unity of souls, amidst great differences of gifts and opinions. There was variation considerable in their endowments: Doctor Jackson had in his youth (as if he then had understood God's calling) laid his grounds carefully in arithmetic, grammar, philology, geometry, rhetoric, logic, philosophy, oriental languages, histories, &c. (yea, he had insight in heraldry and hieroglyphics) he made all these serve either as rubbish under the foundation, or as drudges and day labourers to theology. He was copious and definitive in controversies of all sorts. Master Ferrar was master of the western tongues; yet cared not for criticisms and curiosities. He was also very

modest in points of controversy, and would scarce venture to opine, even in the points wherein the world censured him possessed. Our author was of a middle temper betwixt, or a compound of both these; yet having rather more of Master Ferrar in him: and to what he had of him, he added the art of divine poesy, and other polite learning, which so commended him to persons most eminent in their time, that Doctor Donne inscribed to him a paper of Latin verses in print; and the Lord Bacon having translated some psalms into English metre, sent them with a dedication prefixed, To his very good friend, Master George Herbert, thinking that he had kept a true decorum in choosing one so fit for the argument, in respect of divinity and poesy (the one as the matter, the other as the style) that a better choice he could not make.

In sum, to distinguish them by better resemblances out of the Old and New Testament, and antiquity: methinks Dr. J. has somewhat like the spirit of Jeremy, Saint James, and Salvian. Master Herbert like David, and other psalm men, Saint John, and Prudentius. Master F. like Esay, Saint Luke, and Saint Chrysostom; yet in this diversity had they such a harmony of souls as was admirable. For instance, in one who differed in some points from them all, yet in him they so agreed all, as that Master F. out of a great liking of the man, translated him into English, Master Herbert commented on him, and commended him to use; and

Doctor J. allowed him for the press, it was Valdesso's 110 Considerations.

It would swell this preface too much to set down the several excellencies of our author, his conscientious expense of time, which he even measured by the pulse, that native watch God has set in every of us. His eminent temperance, and frugality, (the two best purveyors for his liberality and beneficence) his private fastings, his mortification of the body, his extemporary exercises thereof, at the sight or visit of a charnel house, where every bone, before the day, rises up in judgment against fleshly lust and pride; at the stroke of a passing bell, when ancient charity used (said he) to run to church, and assist the dying Christian with prayers and tears (for sure that was the ground of that custom), and at all occasions he could lay hold of possibly, which he sought with the same diligence that others shun and shift them. Besides his careful (not scrupulous) observation of appointed Fasts, Lents, and Embers: the neglect and defect of this last, he said, had such influx on the children which the fathers of the Church did beget at such times, as malignant stars are said to have over natural productions; children of such parents, as by fasting and prayers, being like Isaac, and Jacob, and Samuel; most likely to become children of the promise, wrestlers with God, and fittest to wear a linen ephod. And with this fasting he imped his prayers both private and public: his private must

be left to God, who saw them in secret; his public were the morning and evening sacrifice of the church liturgy, which he used with conscientious devotion, not of custom, but serious judgment; knowing, 1. That the sophism used to make people hate them, was a solid reason to make men of understanding love them; namely, because taken out of the mass book: taken out, but as gold from dross, the precious from the vile. The wise reformers knew Rome would cry Schism, schism, and therefore they kept all they could lawfully keep, being loth to give offence; as our blessed Saviour, being loth to offend the Jews at the great reformation, kept divers old elements, and made them new sacraments and services, as their frequent washings he turned into one baptism; some service of the Passover into the Lord's Supper. 2. That the homeliness and coarseness, which also was objected, was a great commendation. The lambs poor of the flock are forty, for one grounded Christian; proportionable must be the care of the church to provide milk; that is, plain and easy nourishment for them: and so had our church done, hoping that stronger Christians, as they abounded in gifts, so they had such a store of the grace of charity, as for their weak brethren's sakes to be content therewith.

He thought also that a set liturgy was of great use in respect of those without, whether erring Christians, or unbelieving men. That when we

had used our best arguments against their errors or unbelief, we might show them a form wherein we did, and desired they would serve Almighty God with us: that we might be able to say, this is our church, here would we land you. Thus we believe, see the creed. Thus we pray, baptize, catechise, celebrate the eucharist, marry, bury, intreat the sick, &c.

These, besides unity, and other accessary benefits, he thought grounds sufficient to bear him out in this practice: wherein he ended his life, calling for the church prayers a while before his death, saying, None to them, none to them, at once both commending them, and his soul to God in them, immediately before his dissolution, as some martyrs did, Mr. Hullier by name, vicar of Babram, burnt to death in Cambridge; who having the common-prayer book in his hand instead of a censer, and using the prayers as incense, offered up himself as a whole burnt sacrifice to God; with whom the very book itself suffered martyrdom, when fallen out of his consumed hands, it was by the executioners thrown into the fire and burnt as an heretical book.

He was moreover so great a lover of church music, that he usually called it heaven upon earth, and attended it a few days before his death. But above all, his chief delight was in the holy scriptures, one leaf whereof he professed he would not part with, though he might have the whole world

in exchange. That was his wisdom, his comfort, his joy, out of that he took his motto, Less than the least of all God's mercies. In that he found that substance, Christ, and in Christ remission of sins, yea, in his blood he placed the goodness of his good works. It is a good work, (said he of building a church,) if it be sprinkled with the blood of Christ.

This high esteem of the word of life, as it wrought in himself a wondrous expression of high reverence, whenever he either read it himself, or heard others read it, so it made him equally wonder, that those which pretended such extraordinary love to Christ Jesus, as many did, could possibly give such leave and liberty to themselves as to hear that word (that shall judge us at the last day,) without any the least expression of that holy fear and trembling, which they ought to charge upon their souls in private, and in public to imprint upon others.

Thus have I with my foul hands soiled this and the other fair pieces, and worn out thy patience: yet have I not so much as with one dash of a pencil, offered to describe that person of his, which afforded so unusual a contesseration of elegancies, and set of rarities to the beholder; nor said I any thing of his personal relation, as a husband, to a loving and virtuous lady; as a kinsman, master, &c. yet will I not conceal his spiritual love and care of servants: teaching masters this duty, to allow their servants daily time, wherein to pray

privately, and to enjoin them to do it: holding this for true generally, that public prayer alone to such persons is no prayer at all.

I have given thee only these lineaments of his mind, and thou mayst fully serve thyself of this book, in what virtue of his thy soul longeth after. His practice it was, and his character it is, his as author, and his as object: yet, lo. the humility of this gracious man! he had small esteem of this book, and but very little of his poems. Though God had magnified him with extraordinary gifts, yet said he, God has broken into my study, and taken off my chariot wheels. I have nothing worthy of God. And even this lowliness in his own eyes, doth more advance their worth, and his virtues.

I have done, when I have besought the reverend fathers, some cathedral, ecclesiastical, and academical men, (which ranks the modest author meddles not with,) to draw ideas for their several orders respectively. (Why should papists (as Timpius) be more careful or painful in this kind than we?) If it do no other good, yet will it help on in the way of repentance, by discovery of former mistakes or neglects; which is the greatest, if not the only good that can now probably be hoped for, out of this tract: which being writ nigh twenty years since, will be less subject to misconstruction. The good Lord prosper it according to the pious intent of the author, and hearty wishes of the prefacer; who confesses himself unworthy to carry out the dung of God's sacrifices.

A

PREFACE TO THE CHRISTIAN READER;

CONSISTING OF SIX PARAGRAPHS.*

[By the Rev. Barnabas Oley.]

§ 1. MY design in this Preface to this impression, is, first, to own that which I made to the first, that came forth, Anno Domini 1652; and to bless God for giving me that portion of ingenuity, to imitate Ezra the scribe, Nehemiah the governor, and Daniel the prophet, by giving God the glory of his justice, in bringing upon us those evils which we then suffered, and that degree of courage, in that day, when violence was at the height, to tell the instruments of cruelty, the immediate causes of those evils; that God had also rods in store for them; and that from the ruins of that church they had pulled down, a heavy stone would fall upon themselves, and bruise them.

§ 2. Secondly, To do a piece of right, an office of justice to the good man that was possessor of the Manuscript of this book, and transmitted it freely to the stationer who first printed it, merely upon design to benefit the clergy, and in them the church of England. He was Mr. Edmund Duncon, rector of Fryarn-Barnet, in the county of Middlesex, brother to Dr. Eleazar Duncon, and Mr. John Duncon, two very learned and worthy persons, and great sufferers, who both died before the miracle of our happy restoration: and were happy in that they lived not to see such ostentation of sin and ingratitude, as some since have made, as if they had been delivered from slavery under the tyrant, that they might with more liberty yield themselves servants to sin, under the tyranny of satan.

§ 3. Thirdly, To tell some of my thoughts for their good, unto my younger conforming brethren, (as for mine elder, dignitaries, and our fathers in God, I look upon them as judges, how I demean myself in this matter.) I say, to tell

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* First printed with the second edition of the Country Parson, 1671, and somewhat enlarged in the third edition, 1675, from which this is reprinted.

them, first, what an halcyonian calm, a blessed time of peace, this church of England had for many years, above all the churches in the world besides: (God grant that they may live to see the like:) at the very Ακμὴ of which time, when the king, St. Charles of Blessed Memory, and the good Archbishop of Canterbury (with others) were endeavouring to perfect the clergy in regularity of life, uniformity of officiating, and all variety of learning; then did schism, faction, and jealousy kindle that fire which destroyed both church and state: and when they had done so, did cunningly cry out upon such, who laboured most to quench it, as if those very men had been the only, or the chief incendiaries. It is meet that the younger clerks be reminded of this; because a considerable number of them, who be now admitted into holy orders, and inducted into livings, were not born before the troubles broke forth, (which was about the year 1638). These men therefore shall do well to acquaint themselves with the most exact and impartial histories of the last past forty years, wherein, there have been the strangest revolutions that ever happened in England in such a space of time. This is requisite to enable them to teach the people of this land (where all things are forgotten) what use they ought to make, of God's mercies before, of his judgments in the wars, and after them also; of the great plague in the year 1665; of the Dutch war in the same year, and in the year 1672, &c.; and of his contending by fire with the nation, when London (the representative of the whole kingdom) was burnt in the year 1666. And secondly, to tell them, what he that has but half an eye may easily foresee, that the effect of publishing this book, will be in no mediocrity. It will do either exceeding great good to the clergy, or exceeding much prejudice. Much good, if it work so upon the clergy, as effectually to persuade them to conform to that holy character delineated in the book; otherwise, it will produce much prejudice, by framing so perfect an idea of a curate of souls, in the minds of the laity, and by erecting such a great expectation and desire, that he, who takes care of theirs, be exactly such an one as this book has described; that if herein they be frustrated, all will be sorry, some will murmur and rage, others will perhaps forsake their parish-church, if not the English: Deus avertat.

The portraiture of virtue in general displayed by eloquence, is very amiable. But perfections proper to any of the three grand vocations, (especially, that of the clergy, daily attendants on the Holy One). The more accurately their characters be imprinted in the minds of others, the

more despicable do they render the professors that want them. And the ordinary sort of people (which are the most) will wrest the defects of the man upon the profession, and, at the next remove, upon the best accomplished professors.

This consideration gives me the cue, to insert here a most passionate request, which I tender to the younger clergy, by the mercies of God, by the meekness and gentleness of Christ, (of whose eternal priesthood they have a share,) and by the preciousness of their own, and other souls committed to their charge, that they will seriously consider, whether my last conjecture be not more than probable: if they think it so, there will be less need to intreat them to forecast, or bethink themselves, what a stock of learning and prudence, the occasions of these times (conference with sectaries and disputation with papists) will require: what a habit of gravity in attire, and of retiredness in conversation, is necessary to make a clergyman exemplary to the loose and vain conversation of these days: what an adult degree of virtue and godliness it must be, that must withstand the incursion of profaneness in this age. And there will not be so much need to beseech them, to buy fathers, councils, and other good classic books; to mortify the flesh with study, fasting, and prayer, and to do every thing becoming a curate of souls, using this book, as a looking glass, to inform them what is decent.

§ 4. In this fourth paragraph I intend an address to our non-conforming brethren, both to those that are out of parochial cures, and to those that having benefices, conform with duplicity of mind, and do as little as they can. I beg leave to tell them (and desire them to believe that I do it in all sincere humility and charity)—

First, That all the clergy of mine acquaintance, and I verily believe, all the old clergy of the nation, as well as my poor self, and many of the younger, do long to see ourselves and our younger brethren conform to that idea of a clerk, which the noble holy Herbert hath portrayed in this book.

Secondly, That what dissimilitude is found in the younger clergy, is partly occasioned by that disturbance which the late wars made in the universities.

Thirdly, They therefore have the greatest reason imaginable to come in with speed, and join cordially in helping to repair those breaches in the church (which they first made) at which, swarms of sectaries have entered in amongst us, and too many others have eloped out into the church of Rome.

I do verily believe, that the best amongst them would

think it a rich blessing to see both church and state in such condition as they were in before themselves moved towards a change. And if all the presbyterians would first seriously reflect upon the issues of their attempts; the death of the king, the best of princes, of the Archbishop of Canterbury, of the Lords Strafford and Montrose, four persons most worthy to live (as Josephus says of those Jews whom the Zealots slew in Jerusalem;) and all the blood spilt, and treasure spent in the wars:

Secondly, Upon the sudden total disappointment of their whole design:

Thirdly, Upon the manifested falseness of that calumny cast upon the good old bishops, and clergy, as if they meant to bring in popery, (for the increase of which, the presbyterians have given great opportunity, though they did not intend it:)

Fourthly, Upon the sad corruption of manners, that broke in upon the demolition of government:

Fifthly, Upon the apostasy from the church, and violent inundation of sects: methinks they should not think it enough, to wipe their mouths, and wash their hands, and say, We meant well; we intended the glory of God, &c. but to bring forth fruits, meet for penitents; that is, because they made havoc of the church, to labour more abundantly to repair it, and to do this with speed, and in sincerity.

§ 5. This fifth paragraph contains a friendly prosopopæia or apostrophe to T. B. the author of a book intituled, The grounds and occasions of the contempt of the clergy: if the author had subscribed his name, I might perhaps have said to him what I here write. Sir, I am sorry that that wit of yours is not under the conduct of more wisdom. You have reproved divers things worthy of reproof; but in a manner worthy to be reproved: i. e. scopticè, sarcasticè, with wit satirical; not with that gravity wherewith such faults ought to be reproved: like one puffed up, and not like a mourner.

You have rightly pitched upon two sluices that let into the church men not rightly qualified. 1. Promiscuous admission into the universities. 2. Indiscriminate or præproperous ordinations; which latter is often but a consequent of the former. For after admission, and twelve terms, a degree, and letters testimonial do too usually follow of course. And the bishop will in charity construe the subscription of ten or twelve presbyters in a college, equivalent to the imposition of so many hands with him in ordination. Except he do as Bishop Wren, lord bishop of Ely, used most carefully to do, never accept a testimonial, unless it

did certify, that the subscribers thought the party qualified for holy orders.

I will suppose that you neither intended to give that offence which your book has given to divers eminent grave and learned men in both universities; nor to yield that nutriment to profaneness which your book hath done. For I hear (by those that are sorry for it) that as some things in your book were matter of chat in coffee-houses at Cambridge before it was printed; so now since it was printed, they be matter of pastime in taverns at London, where wit, and wine, and profaneness, sport themselves in their own deceivings: and make the faults of God's ministers (for which, all that fear God, do grieve) the matter of unhallowed mirth. Sir, how could you write that descant upon our Blessed Saviour's words [weep not for me—:] without mingling your tears with your ink? Had you known the author you would have pitied him: he was a man of great wit, mixed with excess: of a fancy extended to his hurt.

One of your exceptions, i. e. poverty, is so far from being a ground of contempt, that it is a cause of commiseration and honour, ab extra, ab intra, of comfort and joy. Aristotle says, he is the best artificer that can make the best shoe of that leather that is given him. That minister that hath a poor living, and yet lives as well, and does as much good as is possible to be done by any one that hath no better, shall have praise both of God and man. I have not observed any one thing (be hither vice) that hath occasioned so much contempt of the clergy, as unwillingness to take, or keep, a poor living.

A holy man in a poor living, is in a kingdom: if there be a kingdom of heaven upon earth: as I believe, I know, there is. It is a thesis that I dare undertake to make good against a jesuit: Status inopis parochi in Ecclesiâ Anglicanâ, est perfectior statu cujuslibet monachi in Ecclesiâ Romanâ.

There be two main occasions of contempt which you take no notice of. The one external, and that is, envy; a mighty engine, which sometimes casts hatred and instruments of death: sometimes, bolts of scorn, upon men. Laici sunt infensi clericis, is a proverb that holds in the many. It daily feeds, partly, upon the patrimony of the church, by God's wonderful providence restored to the clergy, and rescued from those that had devoured it: (and I do here, in the name of my brethren, acknowledge, that for that mercy, and the mean profits of it, we are all accountable to God and man:) partly, upon the sedentary lives of churchmen; be-

cause they do not make tents as St. Paul did, nor hold the plow, thresh, or drive trades as themselves do, they think them idle persons.

The other occasion omitted by you (which also affords nourishment to envy) is the affectation of gallantry, &c.

But your defect in assigning real grounds, is recompensed with a great excess of instances in a long legend of clerks, οἱ πολλοὶ καπηλεύοντες καὶ δολοῦντες τὴν λόγον τοῦ Θεοῦ. Some of which were dead nigh sixty years ago. I hope God has forgiven them: and I beseech Him to prevent the like in all that be alive. And I pray you consider what reputation He is like to gain, that in a church having eight or nine thousand parishes, and perhaps as many clerks, or more, shall make it his business to ravel into sixty years backward, (twenty of which were a miserable anarchy) and to collect the imprudenter dicta of young and weak preachers, to weed their books, and make a composure, loathsome to all good men, delightful only to such as make a mock of sin. Besides, you have imposed upon the reader, by charging the clergy of the church of England, with those wild notions which were delivered by fanatics, qualified neither with orders nor arts. As for instance, (page 71, viz.) that the worm Jacob is a threshing worm, &c. It was delivered in Blackfriars Church, London, in the year 1654, by a fanatic mechanic, who at that time was one of Colonel Harrison's regiment, one of the late king's murderers: this is attested by a person of quality, who then was an ear-witness.

Sir, by this time I hope you are willing to consider, 1. Whether it had not been better to have thrown a cover of silence over all your instances. I will tell you a sad inconvenience that comes from the mere relation of the abuses of holy scripture, made, either by profane wit, or weak folly. They do βασανιζειν every pious soul that hears or reads them. They infest the memory or fancy, and (as the fowls that came down upon Abram's sacrifice) by presenting themselves, trouble a man's mind whilst he is reading the word of God, and should only attend to the pure meaning of the Spirit. Besides, one relation begets another, and so on, still they engender, till profaneness become tradition; and therefore wise men make a conscience of making rehearsal of witty applications that wrong the text.

2. Whether the event have not over-reached your intent. The pretence of your book was, to show the occasions; your book is become an occasion of the contempt of God's ministers.

3. What service you have done, and what thanks you may expect from God, the church, and state, if your book shall (by accident only) deter but one ingenuous youth, one hopeful gentleman, one noble man of good and great endowments, from entering into holy orders; the expedient appointed by God for saving souls.

But blessed be God! who hath secured the honour of the function from being disparaged by the misdemeanours of men that officiate in it; or by the malignity of such as observe their failings, with design to revile them.

Though the vulgar ordinarily do not, yet the nobility and gentry do distinguish and abstract the errors of the man, from the holy calling, and not think their dear relations degraded by receiving holy orders.

He that would see a fair catalogue of ancient nobles, who were consecrated bishops (well toward the primitive times of Christianity) let him read the epistle dedicatory of the Rev. Dr. Cave, his book intituled Primitive Christianity. And for our late and present times, accept of that which here followeth.

I have read that Henry the Eighth was by his father designed to the archbishopric of Canterbury, if his brother, Prince Arthur, had lived to succeed in the crown.

Dr. Montague, who was bishop of Winchester, (when I was young) was uncle to the lord chamberlain that last died, or at least nigh of kindred to his father, who after he past through many honourable offices, died president of the king's most honourable privy council.

The old Earl of Westmoreland did dedicate one of his sons to God's service in the sanctuary: and he became a good example of gravity and piety to those of that calling: and, for any thing I know, is so till this day.

So did the old Lord Cameron, (father to Ferdinando, Lord Fairfax,) a son of his; who was first a regular and sober fellow of Trinity College, in Cambridge, and afterwards rector of Bolton Percy, in Yorkshire, where he was sequestered (we may well conclude) for his good affection to God and the king, if his brother or nephew could not secure him.

There was a brother of the Lord Gray's, of Wark, in Cambridge, in my time, who was very studious and virtuous, and after that entered into holy orders, and took a charge of souls upon him, and discharged it as became him.

The Rev. Dr. Gray, rector of Burbidge, in the county of Leicester, was Earl of Kent, about the year of God 1640.

There be divers persons of noble extraction, which have

lately entered into holy orders, and are most worthily dignified and promoted in this church.

One is, the Right Rev. Dr. Henry Compton, now Lord Bishop of Oxon, brother to the Right Hon. Earl of Northampton, that now is, and son to that valiant earl, who was slain in the high places of the field, fighting for his God and for his king, in the year 1643.

The Rev. Dr. Greenvill, brother to the Right Hon. the Earl of Bath, is another.

The Right Rev. Dr. Crew, clerk of the closet to his majesty, now the Right Rev. Lord Bishop of Durham, and son to the Right Hon. Lord Crew, is another.

The Rev. Mr. John North, late fellow of Jesus College, and public professor of the Greek tongue, in the university of Cambridge, and prebendary of Westminster, son to the Right Hon. the Lord North, of Cartledge, is another.

The Rev. Dr. Brereton, son to the late Lord Brereton, of Brereton Green, in Cheshire, is another.

My hopes that there be more (I pray God make them an hundredth times more) noble worthy persons entered into holy orders, admonish me, to beg pardon of all such whose name I have (not pretermitted, but) omitted, only out of a mere negative ignorance, occasioned by my private condition.

These noble persons so excellently qualified with virtues, learning, and piety, by bringing along with them into the church, the eminency of their birth also, have cast a lustre upon the clergy, (as greater stars help to brighten up their less shining neighbours) and have advanced their christian priesthood to the height it was at, under the law of nature, when it was the hereditary honour and prerogative of the firstborn, of the chief family, to be the priest of the most high God.

And, surely, these noble persons have shewed (and so with all the nobility that follow them shew,) a twofold wisdom in their choice of this holy function. For first, the calling gives them better opportunities to get to heaven: and secondly, it gives them title to the good things of the earth (rectories, donatives, dignities) their portions in the church's patrimony, which cannot miss them, being doubly so well qualified.

The advantage of doing God service, which height of birth gives to a nobleman or gentleman, over what a clerk of lower parentage hath, is very considerable. The truth taught by them, is sooner believed; a reproof bestowed by them, is better received: an example of virtue shewed by them,

makes deeper impression, than the same coming from one of meaner extraction would do. This observation I first made, in those two great lights of our church, Dr. Fern, Lord Bishop of Chester, who was a knight's son, and Dr. Hammond, who was of an ancient family. And the reader will observe more in this book, whose author was a person nobly descended.

The wisdom of this land confirms this truth. Our laws give that privilege to higher birth, which a man of meaner descent must stay, and study, and perform divers exercises for, by the space of fourteen years. To be a knight's son, born in wedlock, is as good a qualification for some preferments, as to be a batchelor in divinity.

The example and wisdom of these noble persons, will save me the labour of beseeching the other nobility and gentry of this kingdom; 1. To think the priesthood a function not unworthy of them, or their relations. 2. To look upon the patrimony of the church, as a good provision for their own dear children. (As it is also for every mother's son of the commonalty that is duly qualified.) And, 3. Therefore, that it is not only an impious thing, because sacrilege, but also an impolitic deed, because destructive of the means of a man's own and his children's well being, to wish or desire, much more to consent to, or endeavour, the taking away of church means devoted to God for the maintenance of such as attend his service.

This address to the nobles has not made me forget T. B. I mean to take my leave of him in as friendly a manner as I began: and the rather because he intimates a wish, that some augmentation of means might be made to the poor clergy. A thing that my soul desireth! and more. I intend to endeavour it, when, and wherever it lies in my power. If I had £10,000, I would give £9000 of it to that use. A thing which the cathedral church of Worcester hath carefully done: and I know not any cathedral that hath left it undone.

I know, a prebendary of the cathedral church of York, that refused £300 fine for renewing a lease of an impropriation: and chose rather to settle half the clear profits of the tithes for an augmentation upon the vicar. And another, of another church, that hath settled a tithe that cost £550; with divers other instances of this kind.

He may see, I have complied with his wish. I entreat him to condescend to an earnest request of mine: that he would endeavour, if not to augment the means of the poor clergy, yet to recompense the injury his book hath done them.

§ 6. But all this while, do I not forget myself much? and the reader more? I will conclude this Preface with a short description of a complete clergyman.

He is a son, like Samuel, begged of God by his devout parents, before he was begotten by them; and dedicated to serve God in his sanctuary before he was born: upon presupposal of shape and temper of body, of abilities and faculties of mind fit for that service: and these allowed for such, by men of exquisite judgment; seasoned in his infancy, at home, with piety; at school, with arts; accomplished with sciences and degrees at the university; prepared for holy orders by prayer and reading, (St. Chrysostom de Sacerdotio, St. Gregory's Pastoral, and such other books as learned men shall direct). Called by a bishop, or excited by a master of a college, or some grave divine to receive holy orders. And when he is entered, he governs himself by the canons of the church, and best examples of the age. In sum, he imitates the author of The Temple, and of this book, The Priest to the Temple, the holy Mr. George Herbert. To whom, God assimilate the clergy, and amongst them, the most unworthy,

BARNABAS OLEY.

AN ADVERTISEMENT TO THE READER.

THE first edition of this book came out in sad times, (Anno Domini 1652,) when violence had gotten the upper hand: what here next follows, was then thought meet, to be the Preface to it. Now the Almighty, who changeth times and seasons, himself abiding unchangeable, having (for his own name's sake, and their sakes to whom the former Preface was dedicated, who many of them, were fervent intercessors for the same) wrought a wonderful deliverance; it is thought fit that it should withdraw, and stand here behind the curtain, resigning that place to another, that may move the reader to thankfulness for that stupendous mercy; and to express it, as by all other possible testifications, so by making a right use of this book.

A PRIEST TO THE TEMPLE;

OR, THE COUNTRY PARSON, HIS CHARACTER, AND RULE OF HOLY LIFE.

[FIRST PRINTED IN 1652.]

THE AUTHOR TO THE READER.

BEING desirous (through the mercy of God) to please Him, for whom I am, and live, and who giveth me my desires and performances; and considering with myself, that the way to please him, is to feed my flock diligently and faithfully, since our Saviour hath made that the argument of a pastor's love, I have resolved to set down the form and character of a true pastor, that I may have a mark to aim at: which also I will set as high as I can, since he shoots higher that threatens the moon, than he that aims at a tree. Not that I think, if a man do not all which is here expressed, he presently sins, and displeases God, but that it is a good strife to go as far as we can in pleasing him, who hath done so much for us. The Lord prosper the intention to myself, and others, who may not despise my poor labours, but add to those points which I have observed, until the book grow to a complete pastoral.

GEO. HERBERT.

1632.

A PRIEST TO THE TEMPLE.

CHAPTER THE FIRST.

OF A PASTOR.

A PASTOR is the deputy of Christ for the reducing of man to the obedience of God. This definition is evident, and contains the direct steps of pastoral duty and authority. For first, man fell from God by disobedience. Secondly, Christ is the glorious instrument of God for the revoking of man. Thirdly, Christ being not to continue on earth, but after he had fulfilled the work of reconciliation, to be received up into heaven, he constituted deputies in his place, and these are priests. And therefore St. Paul in the beginning of his Epistles, professeth this: and in the first to the Colossians plainly avoucheth that he *fills up that which is behind of the afflictions of Christ in his flesh, for his body's sake, which is the church*, wherein is contained the complete definition of a minister. Out of this charter of the priesthood may be plainly gathered both the dignity thereof, and the duty: the dignity, in that a priest may do that which

Christ did, and by his authority, and as his vicegerent. The duty, in that a priest is to do that which Christ did, and after his manner, both for doctrine and life.

CHAPTER II.

THEIR DIVERSITIES.

OF Pastors (intending mine own nation only, and also therein setting aside the reverend prelates of the church, to whom this discourse ariseth not) some live in the universities, some in noble houses, some in parishes residing on their cures. Of those that live in the universities, some live there in office, whose rule is that of the apostle: Romans xii. 6. *Having gifts differing according to the grace that is given to us, whether prophecy, let us prophesy according to the proportion of faith; or ministry, let us wait on our ministering; or he that teacheth, on teaching,* &c. *he that ruleth let him do it with diligence,* &c. Some in a preparatory way, whose aim and labour must be not only to get knowledge, but to subdue and mortify all lusts and affections: and not to think, that when they have read the fathers, or schoolmen, a minister is made, and the thing done. The greatest and hardest preparation is within: for, *Unto the ungodly, saith God, Why dost thou preach my laws, and takest my covenant in thy mouth?*

Psalm l. 16. Those that live in noble houses are called chaplains, whose duty and obligation being the same to the houses they live in, as a parson's to his parish, in describing the one (which is indeed the bent of my discourse) the other will be manifest. Let not chaplains think themselves so free, as *many of them do*, and because they have different names, think their office different. Doubtless they are parsons of the families they live in, and are entertained to that end, either by an open, or implicit covenant. Before they are in orders, they may be received for companions, or discoursers; but after a man is once minister, he cannot agree to come into any house, where he shall not exercise what he is, unless he forsake his plough, and look back. Wherefore they are not to be over-submissive, and base, but to keep up with the lord and lady of the house, and to preserve a boldness with them and all, even so far as reproof to their very face, when occasion calls, but seasonably and discreetly. They who do not thus, while they remember their earthly lord, do much forget their heavenly; they wrong the priesthood, neglect their duty, and shall be so far from that which they seek with their over-submissiveness, and cringing, that they shall ever be despised. They who for the hope of promotion neglect any necessary admonition, or reproof, sell (with Judas) their Lord and Master.

CHAPTER III.

THE PARSON'S LIFE.

THE Country Parson is exceeding exact in his life, being holy, just, prudent, temperate, bold, grave, in all his ways. And because the two highest points of life, wherein a Christian is most seen, are patience, and mortification; patience in regard of afflictions, mortification in regard of lusts and affections, and the stupifying and deading of all the clamorous powers of the soul, therefore he hath thoroughly studied these, that he may be an absolute master and commander of himself, for all the purposes which God hath ordained him. Yet in these points he labours most in those things which are most apt to scandalize his parish. And first, because country people live hardly, and therefore as feeling their own sweat, and consequently knowing the price of money, are offended much with any, who by hard usage increase their travail, the country parson is very circumspect in avoiding all covetousness, neither being greedy to get, nor niggardly to keep, nor troubled to lose any worldly wealth; but in all his words and actions slighting, and disesteeming it, even to a wondering, that the world should so much value wealth, which in the day of wrath hath not one dram of comfort for us. Secondly, because luxury is a very visible sin, the

parson is very careful to avoid all the kinds thereof, but especially that of drinking, because it is the most popular vice; into which if he come, *he prostitutes himself* both to shame, and sin, and by having *fellowship with the unfruitful works of darkness*, he disableth himself of authority *to reprove them:* for sins make all equal, whom they find together; and then they are worst, who ought to be best. Neither is it for the servant of Christ to haunt inns, or taverns, or alehouses, *to the dishonour of his person and office.* The parson doth not so, but orders his life in such a fashion, that when death takes him, as the Jews and *Judas* did Christ, he may say as he did, *I sat daily with you teaching in the temple.* Thirdly, because country people (as indeed all honest men) do much esteem their word, it being the life of buying and selling, and dealing in the world; therefore the parson is very strict in keeping his word, though it be to his own hindrance, as knowing, that if he be not so, he will quickly be discovered and disregarded: neither will they believe him in the pulpit, whom they cannot trust in his conversation. As for oaths, and apparel, the disorders thereof are also very manifest. The parson's yea is yea, and nay, nay; and his apparel plain, but reverend, and clean, without spots, or dust, or smell; the purity of his mind breaking out, and dilating itself even to his body, clothes, and habitation.

CHAPTER IV.

THE PARSON'S KNOWLEDGE.

THE Country Parson is full of all knowledge. They say, it is an ill mason that refuseth any stone: and there is no knowledge, but, in a skilful hand, serves either positively as it is. or else to illustrate some other knowledge. He condescends even to the knowledge of tillage, and pasturage, and makes great use of them in teaching, because people, by what they understand, are best led to what they understand not. But the chief and top of his knowledge consists in the book of books, the storehouse, and magazine of life and comfort, the Holy Scriptures. There he sucks, and lives. In the Scriptures he finds four things; precepts for life, doctrines for knowledge, examples for illustration, and promises for comfort: these he hath digested severally. But for the understanding of these; the means he useth are first, a holy life, remembering what his Master saith, that *if any do God's will, he shall know of the doctrine*, John vii. and assuring himself, that wicked men, however learned, do not know the Scriptures, because they feel them not, and because they are not understood but with the same Spirit that writ them. The second means is prayer, which if it be necessary even in temporal things, how much more in things

of another world, where the well is deep, and we have nothing of ourselves to draw with? Wherefore he ever begins the reading of the Scripture with some short inward ejaculation, as, *Lord, open mine eyes, that I may see the wondrous things of thy law*, &c. The third means is a diligent collation of Scripture with Scripture. For all truth being consonant to itself, and all being penned by one and the self-same Spirit, it cannot be, but that an industrious, and judicious comparing of place with place, must be a singular help for the right understanding of the Scriptures. To this may be added the consideration of any text with the coherence thereof, touching what goes before, and what follows after, as also the scope of the Holy Ghost. When the apostles would have called down fire from heaven, they were reproved, as ignorant of what spirit they were. For the law required one thing, and the gospel another: yet as diverse, not as repugnant: therefore the spirit of both is to be considered, and weighed. The fourth means are commenters and fathers, who have handled the places controverted, which the parson by no means refuseth. As he doth not so study others, as to neglect the grace of God in himself, and what the Holy Spirit teacheth him; so doth he assure himself, that God in all ages hath had his servants, to whom he hath revealed his truth, as well as to him; and that as one country doth not bear all things, that there may be a commerce; so neither hath God opened,

or will open all to one, that there may be a traffic in knowledge between the servants of God. for the planting both of love and humility. Wherefore he hath one comment at least upon every book of Scripture, and ploughing with this, and his own meditations, he enters into the secrets of God treasured in the Holy Scripture.

CHAPTER V.

THE PARSON'S ACCESSARY KNOWLEDGES.

THE Country Parson hath read the fathers also, and the schoolmen, and the later writers, or a good proportion of all, out of all which he hath compiled a book, and body of divinity, which is the storehouse of his sermons, and which he preacheth all his life; but diversely clothed, illustrated, and enlarged. For though the world is full of such composures, yet every man's own is fittest, readiest, and most savoury to him. Besides, this being to be done in his younger and preparatory times, it is an honest joy ever after to look upon his well-spent hours. This body he made by way of expounding the church catechism, to which all divinity may easily be reduced. For it being indifferent in itself to choose any method, that is best to be chosen, of which there is likeliest to be most use. Now catechizing being a work of singular, and admirable benefit to the church of God, and a

thing required under canonical obedience, the expounding of our catechism must needs be the most useful form. Yet hath the parson, besides this laborious work, a slighter form of catechizing, fitter for country people; according as his audience is, so he useth one, or other; or sometimes both, if his audience be intermixed. He greatly esteems also of cases of conscience, wherein he is much versed. And indeed, herein is the greatest ability of a parson to lead his people exactly in the ways of truth, so that they neither decline to the right hand nor to the left. Neither let any think this a slight thing. For every one hath not digested, when it is a sin to take something for money lent, or when not; when it is a fault to discover another's fault, or when not; *when the affections of the soul in desiring and procuring increase of means, or honour, be a sin of covetousness or ambition, and when not; when the appetites of the body in eating, drinking, sleep, and the pleasure that comes with sleep, be sins of gluttony, drunkenness, sloth, lust, and when not,* and so in many circumstances of actions. Now if a shepherd know not which grass will bane, or which not, how is he fit to be a shepherd? Wherefore the parson hath thoroughly canvassed all the particulars of human actions, at least all those which he observeth are most incident to his parish.

CHAPTER VI.

THE PARSON PRAYING.

THE Country Parson when he is to read divine services, composeth himself to all possible reverence; lifting up his heart and hands and eyes, and using all other gestures, which may express a hearty, and unfeigned devotion. This he doth, first, as being truly touched and amazed with the majesty of God, before whom he then presents himself; yet not as himself alone, but as presenting with himself the whole congregation; whose sins he then bears, and brings with his own to the heavenly altar to be bathed, and washed in the sacred laver of Christ's blood. Secondly, as this is the true reason of his inward fear, so he is content to express this outwardly to the utmost of his power; that being first affected himself, he may affect also his people, knowing that no sermon moves them so much to reverence, which they forget again, when they come to pray, as a devout behaviour in the very act of praying. Accordingly his voice is humble, his words treatable, and slow; yet not so slow neither, as to let the fervency of the supplicant hang and die between speaking, but with a grave liveliness, between fear and zeal, pausing yet pressing, he performs his duty. Besides his example, he having often instructed his

people how to carry themselves in divine service, exacts of them all possible reverence, by no means enduring either talking, or sleeping, or gazing, or leaning, or half-kneeling, or any undutiful behaviour in them, but causing them, when they sit, or stand, or kneel, to do all in a straight, and steady posture, as attending to what is done in the church, and every one, man and child, answering aloud both Amen, and all other answers, which are on the clerk's and people's part to answer; which answers also are to be done not in a huddling, or slubbering fashion, gaping, or scratching the head, or spitting even in the midst of their answer, but gently and pausably, thinking what they say; so that while they answer, *as it was in the beginning*, &c. they meditate as they speak, that God hath ever had his people, that have glorified him as well as now, and that he shall have so for ever. And the like in other answers. This is that which the apostle calls a reasonable service, Romans xii., when we speak not as parrots, without reason, or offer up such sacrifices as they did of old, which was of beasts devoid of reason; but when we use our reason, and apply our powers to the service of Him, that gives them. If there be any of the gentry or nobility of the parish, who sometimes make it a piece of state not to come at the beginning of service with their poor neighbours, but at mid-prayers, both to their own loss, and of theirs also who gaze upon them when they

come in, and neglect the present service of God, he by no means suffers it, but after divers gentle admonitions, if they persevere, he causes them to be presented: or if the poor churchwardens be affrighted with their greatness, notwithstanding his instruction that they ought not to be so, but even to let the world sink, so they do their duty; he presents them himself, only protesting to them, that not any ill-will draws him to it, but the debt and obligation of his calling, being to obey God rather than men.

CHAPTER VII.

THE PARSON PREACHING.

THE Country Parson preacheth constantly, the pulpit is his joy and his throne: if he at any time intermit, it is either for want of health, or against some great festival, that he may the better celebrate it, or for the variety of the hearers, that he may be heard at his return more attentively. When he intermits, he is ever very well supplied by some able man, who treads in his steps, and will not throw down what he hath built; whom also he intreats to press some point, that he himself hath often urged with no great success, that so, in the mouth of two or three witnesses the truth may be more established. When he preacheth, he procures attention by all possible art, both by earnestness of

speech, it being natural to men to think, that where is much earnestness, there is somewhat worth hearing: and by a diligent and busy cast of his eye on his auditors, with letting them know that he observes who marks, and who not; and with particularizing of his speech now to the younger sort, then to the elder, now to the poor, and now to the rich. This is for you, and this is for you; for particulars ever touch, and awake more than generals. Herein also he serves himself of the judgments of God, as of those of ancient times, so especially of the late ones; and those most, which are nearest to his parish; for people are very attentive at such discourses, and think it behoves them to be so, when God is so near them, and even over their heads. Sometimes he tells them stories, and sayings of others, according as his text invites him; for them also men heed, and remember better than exhortations; which though earnest, yet often die with the sermon, especially with country people; which are thick, and heavy, and hard to raise to a point of zeal, and fervency, and need a mountain of fire to kindle them; but stories and sayings they will well remember. He often tells them, that sermons are dangerous things, that none goes out of church as he came in, but either better or worse; that none is careless before his Judge, and that the word of God shall judge us. By these and other means the parson procures attention; but the character of his sermon is holiness; he is not witty, or learned, or

eloquent, but holy. A character, that *Hermogenes* never dreamed of, and therefore he could give no precept thereof. But it is gained first, by choosing texts of devotion, not controversy, moving and ravishing texts, whereof the scriptures are full. Secondly, by dipping, and seasoning all our words and sentences in our hearts, before they come into our mouths, truly affecting, and cordially expressing all that we say; so that the auditors may plainly perceive that every word is heart-deep. Thirdly, by turning often, and making many apostrophes to God, as, O Lord, bless my people and teach them this point; or, O my Master, on whose errand I come, let me hold my peace, and do thou speak thyself; for thou art love, and when thou teachest, all are scholars. Some such irradiations scatteringly in the sermon, carry great holiness in them. The prophets are admirable in this. So Isaiah lxiv. *Oh that thou wouldst rend the heavens, that thou wouldst come down*, &c. And Jeremiah x. after he had complained of the desolation of *Israel*, turns to God suddenly, *O Lord, I know that the way of man is not in himself*, &c. Fourthly, by frequent wishes of the people's good, and joying therein, though he himself were with *St. Paul* even sacrificed upon the service of their faith. For there is no greater sign of holiness, than the procuring and rejoicing in another's good. And herein *St. Paul* excelled in all his epistles. How did he put the *Romans* in all his prayers? Romans i. 9.

And ceased not to give thanks for the *Ephesians*, Eph. i. 16. And for the *Corinthians*, chap. i. 4. And for the *Philippians* made request with joy, chap. i. 4. And is in contention for them whether to live or die; be with them, or Christ, verse 23, which, setting aside his care of his flock, were a madness to doubt of. What an admirable epistle is the second to the Corinthians! how full of affections! he joys, and he is sorry, he grieves, and he glories, never was there such care of a flock expressed, save in the great Shepherd of the fold, who first shed tears over *Jerusalem*, and afterwards blood. Therefore this care may be learned there, and then woven into sermons, which will make them appear exceeding reverend, and holy. Lastly, by an often urging of the presence, and majesty of God, by these, or such like speeches. Oh let us all take heed what we do! God sees us, he sees whether I speak as I ought, or you hear as you ought, he sees hearts, as we see faces: he is among us; for if we be here, he must be here, since we are here by him, and without him could not be here. Then turning the discourse to his majesty, And he is a great God, and terrible, as great in mercy, so great in judgment. There are but two devouring elements, fire and water, he hath both in him; his voice is as the sound of many waters, Revelations, i. And he himself is a consuming fire, Hebrews xii. Such discourses show very holy. The parson's method in handling of a text, consists of two parts:

first, a plain and evident declaration of the meaning of the text; and secondly, some choice observations drawn out of the whole text, as it lies entire, and unbroken in the Scripture itself. This he thinks natural, and sweet, and grave. Whereas the other way of crumbling a text into small parts, as, the person speaking, or spoken to, the subject, and object, and the like, hath neither in it sweetness, nor gravity, nor variety, since the words apart are not Scripture, but a Dictionary, and may be considered alike in all the Scripture. The parson exceeds not an hour in preaching, because all ages have thought that a competency, and he that profits not in that time, will less afterwards, the same affection which made him not profit before, making him then weary, and so he grows from not relishing, to loathing.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE PARSON ON SUNDAYS.

THE Country Parson, as soon as he awakes on Sunday morning, presently falls to work, and seems to himself so as a market-man is, when the market-day comes, or a shopkeeper, when customers use to come in. His thoughts are full of making the best of the day, and contriving it to his best gains. To this end, besides his ordinary prayers, he makes a peculiar one for a blessing on the exercises of the day. That nothing befall him

unworthy of that Majesty, before which he is to present himself, but that all may be done with reverence to his glory, and with edification to his flock, humbly beseeching his Master, that how or whenever he punish him, it be not in his ministry: then he turns to request for his people, that the Lord would be pleased to sanctify them all, that they may come with holy hearts, and awful minds into the congregation, and that the good God would pardon all those who come with less prepared hearts than they ought. This done, he sets himself to the consideration of the duties of the day, and if there be any extraordinary addition to the customary exercises, either from the time of the year, or from the state, or from God by a child born, or dead, or any other accident, he contrives how and in what manner to induce it to the best advantage. Afterwards when the hour calls, with his family attending him, he goes to church, at his first entrance *humbly adoring and worshipping the invisible majesty and presence of Almighty God*, and blessing the people, either openly, or to himself. Then having read divine service twicefully, and preached in the morning, and catechized in the afternoon, he thinks he hath in some measure, according to poor and frail man, discharged the public duties of the congregation. The rest of the day he spends either in reconciling neighbours that are at variance, or in visiting the sick, or in exhortations to some of his flock by themselves, whom his sermons cannot, or do not reach. And

every one is more awaked, when we come, and say; Thou art the man. This way he finds exceeding useful, and winning; and these exhortations he calls his privy purse, even as princes have theirs, besides their public disbursements. At night he thinks it a very fit time; both suitable to the joy of the day, and without hindrance to public duties, either to entertain some of his neighbours or to be entertained of them, where he takes occasion to discourse *of such things as are both profitable and pleasant, and to raise up their minds to apprehend God's good blessing to our church and state; that order is kept in the one, and peace in the other, without disturbance, or interruption of public divine offices.* As he opened the day with prayer, so he closeth it, humbly beseeching the Almighty to pardon and accept our poor services, and to improve them, that we may grow therein, and that our feet may be like hinds' feet, ever climbing up higher and higher unto him.

CHAPTER IX.

THE PARSON'S STATE OF LIFE.

THE Country Parson considering that virginity is a higher state than matrimony, and that the ministry requires the best and highest things, is rather unmarried, than married. But yet as the temper of his body may be, or as the temper of his parish

may be, where he may have occasion to converse with women, and that among suspicious men, *and other like circumstances considered*, he is rather married, than unmarried. Let him communicate the thing often by prayer unto God, and as his grace shall direct him, so let him proceed. If he be unmarried, and keep house, he hath not a woman in his house, but finds opportunities of having his meat dressed and other services done by men-servants at home, and his linen washed abroad. If he be unmarried, and sojourn, he never talks with any woman alone, but in the audience of others, and that seldom, and then also in a serious manner, never jestingly, or sportfully. *He is very circumspect in all companies, both of his behaviour, speech, and very looks, knowing himself to be both suspected and envied. If he stand steadfast in his heart, having no necessity, but hath power over his own will, and hath so decreed in his heart, that he will keep himself a virgin, he spends his days in fasting and prayer, and blesseth God for the gift of continency, knowing that it can no way be preserved, but only by those means, by which at first it was obtained. He therefore thinks it not enough for him to observe the fasting days of the church, and the daily prayers enjoined him by authority, which he observeth out of humble conformity and obedience; but adds to them, out of choice and devotion, some other days for fasting, and hours for prayers; and by these he keeps his body tame, serviceable and*

healthful; and his soul fervent, active, young, and lusty as an eagle. He often readeth the lives of the primitive monks, hermits, and virgins, and wondereth not so much at their patient suffering, and cheerful dying under persecuting emperors, (though that indeed be very admirable) as at their daily temperance, abstinence, watchings, and constant prayers, and mortifications in the times of peace and prosperity. To put on the profound humility, and the exact temperance of our Lord Jesus, with other exemplary virtues of that sort, and to keep them on in the sun-shine, and noon of prosperity, he findeth to be as necessary, and as difficult at least, as to be clothed with perfect patience and Christian fortitude in the cold midnight storms of persecution and adversity. He keepeth his watch and ward, night and day against the proper and peculiar temptations of his state of life, which are principally these two, spiritual pride, and impurity of heart: against these ghostly enemies he girdeth up his loins, keeps the imagination from roving, puts on the whole armour of God, and by the virtue of the shield of faith, he is not afraid of the pestilence that walketh in darkness, [carnal impurity] nor of the sickness that destroyeth at noon-day, [ghostly pride and self conceit.] Other temptations he hath, which like mortal enemies, may sometimes disquiet him likewise; for the human soul being bounded, and kept in her sensitive faculty, will run out more or less

in her intellectual. Original concupiscence is such an active thing, by reason of continual inward or outward temptations, that it is ever attempting, or doing one mischief or other. Ambition, or untimely desire of promotion to an higher state or place, under colour of accommodation, or necessary provision, is a common temptation, to men of any eminency, especially being single men. Curiosity in prying into high speculative and unprofitable questions, is another great stumbling block to the holiness of scholars. These and many other spiritual wickednesses in high places doth the Parson fear, or experiment, or both; and that much more being single, than if he were married; for then commonly the stream of temptations is turned another way, into covetousness, love of pleasure, or ease, or the like. If the Parson be unmarried, and means to continue so, he doth at least, as much as hath been said. If he be married, the choice of his wife was made rather by his ear, than by his eye; his judgment, not his affection, found out a fit wife for him, whose humble and liberal disposition he preferred before beauty, riches, or honour. *He knew that (the good instrument of God to bring women to heaven) a wise and loving husband could, out of humility, produce any special grace of faith, patience, meekness, love, obedience, &c. and out of liberality make her fruitful in all good works.* As he is just in all things, so is he to his wife also, counting nothing so much his own, as that

he may be unjust unto it. Therefore he gives her respect both afore her servants, and others. and half at least of the government of the house, reserving so much of the affairs, as serve for a diversion for him; yet never so giving over the reins, but that he sometimes looks how things go, demanding an account, but not by the way of an account. And this must be done the oftener, or the seldomer, according as he is satisfied of his wife's discretion.

CHAPTER X.

THE PARSON IN HIS HOUSE.

THE Parson is very exact in the governing of his house, making it a copy and model for his parish. He knows the temper and pulse of every person in his house, and accordingly either meets with their vices, or advanceth their virtues. His wife is either religious, or night and day he is winning her to it. Instead of the qualities of the world, he requires only three of her; first, a training up of her children and maids in the fear of God, with prayers, and catechizing, and all religious duties. Secondly, a curing and healing of all wounds and sores with her own hands; which skill either she brought with her, or he takes care she shall learn it of some religious neighbour. Thirdly, a providing for her family in such sort, as that neither they want a competent sustentation, nor her husband be brought

in debt. His children he first makes Christians, and then commonwealth's men; the one he owes to his heavenly country, the other to his earthly, having no title to either, except he do good to both. Therefore having seasoned them with all piety, not only of words in praying, and reading; but in actions, in visiting other sick children, and tending their wounds, and sending his charity by them to the poor, and sometimes giving them a little money to do it of themselves, that they get a delight in it, and enter favour with God, who weighs even children's actions. 1 Kings xiv. 12, 13. He afterwards turns his care to fit all their dispositions with some calling, not sparing the eldest, but giving him the prerogative of his father's profession, which happily for his other children he is not able to do. Yet in binding them apprentices (in case he think fit to do so) he takes care not to put them into vain trades, and unbefitting the reverence of their father's calling, such as are taverns for men, and lace-making for women; because those trades, for the most part, serve but the vices and vanities of the world, which he is to deny, and not augment. However, he resolves with himself never to omit any present good deed of charity, in consideration of providing a stock for his children; but assures himself, that money thus lent to God, is placed surer for his children's advantage, than if it were given to the Chamber of *London*. Good deeds, and good breeding, are his two great stocks for his

children; if God give any thing above those, and not spent in them, he blesseth God, and lays it out as he sees cause. His servants are all religious, and were it not his duty to have them so, it were his profit, for none are so well served, as by religious servants, both because they do best, and because what they do, is blessed and prospers. After religion, he teacheth them, that three things make a complete servant, truth, and diligence, and neatness, or cleanliness. Those that can read, are allowed times for it, and those that cannot, are taught; for all in his house are either teachers or learners, or both, so that his family is a school of religion, and they all account, that to teach the ignorant is the greatest alms. Even the walls are not idle, but something is written, or painted there, which may excite the reader to a thought of piety; especially the 101st Psalm, which is expressed in a fair table, as being the rule of a family. And when they go abroad, his wife among her neighbours is the beginner of good discourses, his children among children, his servants among other servants; so that as in the house of those that are skilled in music, all are musicians; so in the house of a preacher, all are preachers. He suffers not a lie or equivocation by any means in his house, but counts it the art and secret of governing, to preserve a directness, and open plainness in all things; so that all his house knows, that there is no help for a fault done, but confession. He *him-*

self, or his *wife*, takes account of sermons, and how every one profits, comparing this year with the last: and besides the common prayers of the family, he straightly requires of all to pray by themselves before they sleep at night, and stir out in the morning, and knows what prayers they say, and till they have learned them, makes them kneel by him; esteeming that this private praying is a more voluntary act in them, than when they are called to others' prayers, and that which when they leave the family, they carry with them. He keeps his servants between love, and fear, according as he finds them; but generally he distributes it thus, to his children he shows more love than terror, to his servants more terror than love; but an old good servant boards a child. The furniture of his house is very plain, but clean, whole, and sweet, as sweet as his garden can make; for he hath no money for such things, charity being his only perfume, which deserves cost when he can spare it. His fare is plain, and common, but wholesome, what he hath, is little, but very good; it consisteth most of mutton, beef, and veal; if he adds any thing for a great day, or a stranger, his garden or orchard supplies it, or his barn, and yard: he goes no further for any entertainment, lest he go into the world, esteeming it absurd, that he should exceed, who teacheth others temperance. But those which his home produceth, he refuseth not, as coming cheap, and easy, and arising from

the improvement of things, which otherwise would be lost. Wherein he admires and imitates the wonderful providence and thrift of the great Householder of the world: for there being two things, which as they are, are unuseful to man, the one for smallness, as crumbs, and scattered corn, and the like; the other for the foulness, as wash, and dirt, and things thereinto fallen; God hath provided creatures for both; for the first, poultry, for the second, swine. These save man the labour, and doing that which either he could not do, or was not fit for him to do, by taking both sorts of food into them, do as it were dress and prepare both for man in themselves, by growing themselves fit for his table. The parson in his house observes fasting days: and particularly, as Sunday is his day of joy, so Friday his day of humiliation, which he celebrates not only with abstinence of diet, but also of company, recreation, and all outward contentments; and besides, with confession of sins, and all acts of mortification. Now fasting days contain a treble obligation; first, of eating less that day, than on other days; secondly, of eating no pleasing, or over-nourishing things, as the Israelites did eat sour herbs: thirdly, of eating no flesh, which is but the determination of the second rule by authority to this particular. The two former obligations are much more essential to a true fast, than the third and last; and fasting days were fully performed by keeping of the two former, had not

authority interposed: so that to eat little, and that unpleasant, is the natural rule of fasting, although it be flesh. For since fasting in Scripture language is an afflicting of our souls, if a piece of dry flesh at my table be more unpleasant to me, than some fish there, certainly to eat the flesh, and not the fish, is to keep the fasting day naturally. And it is observable, that the prohibiting of flesh came from hot countries, where both flesh alone, and much more with wine, is apt to nourish more than in cold regions, and where flesh may be much better spared, and with more safety than elsewhere, where both the people and the drink being cold and phlegmatic, the eating of flesh is an antidote to both. For it is certain, that a weak stomach being prepossessed with flesh, shall much better brook and bear a draught of beer, than if it had taken before either fish or roots, or such things; which will discover itself by spitting, and rheum, or phlegm. To conclude, the Parson, if he be in full health, keeps the three obligations, eating fish, or roots, and that for quantity little, for quality unpleasant. If his body be weak and obstructed, as most students are, he cannot keep the last obligation, nor suffer others in his house that are so, to keep it; but only the two former, which also in diseases of exinanition (as consumptions) must be broken: for meat was made for man, not man for meat. To all this may be added, not for emboldening the unruly, but for the comfort of the weak, that not only sickness

breaks these obligations of fasting, but sickliness also. For it is as unnatural to do any thing, that leads me to a sickness, to which I am inclined, as not to get out of that sickness, when I am in it, by any diet. One thing is evident, that an English body, and a student's body, are two great obstructed vessels, and there is nothing that is food, and not physic, which doth less obstruct, than flesh moderately taken; as being immoderately taken, it is exceeding obstructive. And obstructions are the cause of most diseases.

CHAPTER XI.

THE PARSON'S COURTESY.

THE Country Parson owing a debt of charity to the poor, and of courtesy to his other parishioners, he so distinguisheth, that he keeps his money for the poor, and his table for those that are above alms. Not but that the poor are welcome also to his table, whom he sometimes purposely takes home with him, setting them close by him, and carving for them, both for his own humility, and their comfort, who are much cheered with such friendliness. But since both is to be done, the better sort invited, and meaner relieved, he chooseth rather to give the poor money, which they can better employ to their own advantage, and suitably to their needs, than so much given in meat at

dinner. Having then invited some of his parish, he taketh his times to do the like to the rest; so that in the compass of the year, he hath them all with him, because country people are very observant of such things, and will not be persuaded, but being not invited, they are hated. Which persuasion the Parson by all means avoids, knowing that where there are such conceits, there is no room for his doctrine to enter. Yet doth he oftenest invite those whom he sees take best courses, that so both they may be encouraged to persevere, and others spurred to do well, that they may enjoy the like courtesy. For though he desire, that all should live well and virtuously, not for any reward of his, but for virtue's sake; yet that will not be so: and therefore as God, although we should love him only for his own sake, yet out of his infinite pity hath set forth heaven for a reward to draw men to piety, and is content, if at least so, they will become good. So the country parson, who is a diligent observer, and tracker of God's ways, sets up as many encouragements to goodness as he can, both in honour and profit, and fame; that he may, if not the best way, yet any way, make his parish good.

CHAPTER XII.

THE PARSON'S CHARITY.

THE Country Parson is full of charity; it is his predominant element. For many and wonderful things are spoken of thee, thou great virtue. To charity is given the covering of sins, 1 Peter iv. 8; and the forgiveness of sins, Matthew vi. 14, Luke vii. 47; the fulfilling of the law, Romans xiii. 10; the life of faith, James ii. 26; the blessings of this life, Proverbs xxii. 9, Psalm xli. 2; and the reward of the next, Matthew xxv. 35. In brief, it is the body of religion, John xiii. 35; and the top of Christian virtues, 1 Corinthians xiii. Wherefore all his works relish of charity. When he riseth in the morning, he bethinketh himself what good deeds he can do that day, and presently doth them; counting that day lost, wherein he hath not exercised his charity. He first considers his own parish, and takes care, that there be not a beggar, or idle person in his parish, but that all be in a competent way of getting their living. This he effects either by bounty, or persuasion, or by authority, making use of that excellent statute, which binds all parishes to maintain their own. If his parish be rich, he exacts this of them; if poor, and he able, he easeth them therein. But he gives no set pension to any; for this in time will lose the

name and effect of charity with the poor people, though not with God: for then they will reckon upon it, as on a debt; and if it be taken away, though justly, they will murmur, and repine as much, as he that is disseized of his own inheritance. But the parson having a double aim, and making a hook of his charity, causeth them still to depend on him; and so by continual, and fresh bounties, unexpected to them, but resolved to himself, he wins them to praise God more, to live more religiously, and to take more pains in their vocation, as not knowing when they shall be relieved; which otherwise they would reckon upon and turn to idleness. Besides this general provision, he hath other times of opening his hand; as at great festivals and communions; not suffering any that day that he receives, to want a good meal suiting to the joy of the occasion. But specially, at hard times, and dearths, he even parts his living and life among them, giving some corn outright, and selling other at under rates; and when his own stock serves not, working those that are able to the same charity, still pressing it in the pulpit and out of the pulpit, and never leaving them till he obtain his desire. Yet in all his charity, he distinguisheth, giving them most, who live best, and take most pains, and are most charged: so is his charity in effect a sermon. After the consideration of his own parish, he enlargeth himself, if he be able, to the neighbourhood; for that also is some kind of obligation;

so doth he also to those at his door, whom God puts in his way, and makes his neighbours. But these he helps not without some testimony, except the evidence of the misery bring testimony with it. For though these testimonies also may be falsified, yet considering that the law allows these in case they be true, but allows by no means to give without testimony, as he obeys authority in the one, so that being once satisfied, he allows his charity some blindness in the other; especially, since of the two commands, we are more enjoined to be charitable, than wise. But evident miseries have a natural privilege, and exemption from all law. Whenever he gives any thing, and sees them labour in thanking of him, he exacts of them to let him alone, and say rather, God be praised, God be glorified; that so the thanks may go the right way, and thither only, where they are only due. So doth he also before giving make them say their prayers first, or the creed, and ten commandments, and as he finds them perfect, rewards them the more. For other givings are lay, and secular, but this is to give like a priest.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE PARSON'S CHURCH.

THE Country Parson hath a special care of his church, that all things there be decent, and befitting His name by which it is called. Therefore first he takes order, that all things be in good repair; as walls plastered, windows glazed, floor paved, seats whole, firm, and uniform, especially that the pulpit, and desk, and communion table, and font be as they ought, for those great duties that are performed in them. Secondly, that the church be swept, and kept clean without dust, or cobwebs, and at great festivals strewed, and stuck with boughs, and perfumed with incense. Thirdly, that there be fit and proper texts of Scripture every where painted, and that all the painting be grave, and reverend, not with light colours or foolish antics. Fourthly, that all the books appointed by authority be there, and those not torn, or fouled, but whole and clean, and well bound; and that there be a fitting and sightly communion cloth *of fine linen, with an handsome, and seemly carpet of good and costly stuff, or cloth, and all kept sweet and clean, in a strong and decent chest, with a chalice, and cover, and a stoop or flagon; and a basin for alms and offerings; besides which, he hath a poor man's box conveniently seated, to re-*

ceive the charity of well-minded people, and to lay up treasure for the sick and needy. And all this he doth, not as out of necessity, or as putting a holiness in the things, but as desiring to keep the middle way between superstition and slovenliness, and as following the apostle's two great and admirable rules in things of this nature: the first whereof is, *Let all things be done decently and in order:* the second, *Let all things be done to edification,* 1 Cor. xiv. For these two rules comprise and include the double object of our duty, God, and our neighbour; the first being for the honour of God, the second for the benefit of our neighbour. So that they excellently score out the way, and fully, and exactly contain, even in external and indifferent things, what course is to be taken; and put them to great shame, who deny the Scripture to be perfect.

CHAPTER XIV.

THE PARSON IN CIRCUIT.

THE Country Parson upon the afternoons in the week-days, takes occasion sometimes to visit in person, now one quarter of his parish, now another. For there he shall find his flock most naturally as they are, wallowing in the midst of their affairs: whereas on Sunday it is easy for them to compose themselves to order, which they put on as

their holyday clothes, and come to church in frame, but commonly the next day put off both. When he comes to any house, first he blesseth it, and then as he finds the persons of the house employed, so he forms his discourse. Those that he finds religiously employed, he both commends them much, and furthers them when he is gone, in their employment; as if he finds them reading, he furnisheth them with good books; if curing poor people, he supplies them with receipts, and instructs them further in that skill, showing them how acceptable such works are to God, and wishing them ever to do the cures with their own hands, and not to put them over to servants. Those that he finds busy in the works of their calling, he commendeth them also: for it is a good and just thing for every one to do their own business. But then he admonisheth them of two things; first that they dive not too deep into worldly affairs, plunging themselves over head and ears into carking and caring; but that they so labour, as neither to labour anxiously, nor distrustfully, nor profanely. Then they labour anxiously, when they overdo it, to the loss of their quiet and health: then distrustfully, when they doubt God's providence, thinking that their own labour is the cause of their thriving, as if it were in their own hands to thrive or not to thrive. *Then they labour profanely, when they set themselves to work like brute beasts, never raising their thoughts to God, nor sanctifying their labour with daily prayer; when*

on the Lord's day they do unnecessary servile work, or in time of divine service on other holy days, except in the cases of extreme poverty, and in the seasons of seed-time and harvest. Secondly, he adviseth them so to labour for wealth and maintenance as that they make not that the end of their labour, but that they may have wherewithal to serve God the better, and to do good deeds. After these discourses, if they be poor and needy, whom he thus finds labouring, he gives them somewhat; and opens not only his mouth, but his purse to their relief, that so they go on more cheerfully in their vocation, and himself be ever the more welcome to them. Those that the parson finds idle, or ill-employed, he chides not at first, for that were neither civil nor profitable; but always in the close, before he departs from them: yet in this he distinguisheth; for if he be a plain countryman, he reproves him plainly; for they are not sensible of fineness: if they be of higher quality, they commonly are quick, and sensible, and very tender of reproof; and therefore he lays his discourse so, that he comes to the point very leisurely, and oftentimes, as *Nathan* did, in the person of another, making them to reprove themselves. However, one way or other, he ever reproves them, that he may keep himself pure, and not be entangled in others' sins. Neither in this doth he forbear, though there be company by: for as when the offence is particular, and against me, I am to follow our Saviour's rule, and to take my

brother aside, and reprove him; so when the offence is public, and against God, I am then to follow the apostle's rule, 1 Timothy v. 20, and to *rebuke openly* that which is done openly. Besides these occasional discourses, the parson questions what order is kept in the house, as about prayers, morning and evening, on their knees, reading of Scripture, catechizing, singing of psalms at their work, and on holy days; who can read, who not; and sometimes he hears the children read himself, and blesseth, encouraging also the servants to learn to read, and offering to have them taught on holidays by his servants. If the parson were ashamed of particularizing in these things, he were not fit to be a parson; but he holds the rule, that nothing is little in God's service: if it once have the honour of that name, it grows great instantly. Wherefore neither disdaineth he to enter into the poorest cottage, though he even creep into it, and though it smell never so loathsomely. For both God is there also, and those for whom God died: and so much the rather doth he so, as his access to the poor is more comfortable, than to the rich; and in regard of himself, it is more humiliation. These are the parson's general aims in his circuit; but with these he mingles other discourses for conversation sake, and to make his higher purposes slip the more easily.

CHAPTER XV.

THE PARSON COMFORTING.

THE Country Parson, when any of his cure is sick, or afflicted with loss of friend, or estate, or any ways distressed, fails not to afford his best comforts, and rather goes to them, than sends for the afflicted, though they can, and otherwise ought to come to him. To this end he hath thoroughly digested all the points of consolation, as having continual use of them, such as are from God's general providence extended even to lilies; from his particular, to his church; from his promises, from the examples of all saints, that ever were; from Christ himself, perfecting our redemption no other way than by sorrow; from the benefit of affliction, which softens and works the stubborn heart of man: from the certainty both of deliverance, and reward, if we faint not; from the miserable comparison of the moment of griefs here with the weight of joys hereafter. *Besides this, in his visiting the sick, or otherwise afflicted, he followeth the church's counsel, namely, in persuading them to particular confession; labouring to make them understand the great good use of this ancient and pious ordinance, and how necessary it is in some cases: he also urgeth them to do some pious charitable works, as a necessary evidence and fruit of their faith, at that time especially: the participation of the holy sa-*

crament, how comfortable, and sovereign a medicine it is to all sin-sick souls, what strength, and joy, and peace it administers against all temptations, even to death itself,—he plainly, and generally intimateth to the disaffected, or sick person; that so the hunger and thirst after it may come rather from themselves, than from his persuasion.

CHAPTER XVI.

THE PARSON A FATHER.

THE Country Parson is not only a father to his flock, but also professeth himself thoroughly of the opinion, carrying it about with him as fully, as if he had begot his whole parish. And of this he makes great use. For by this means, when any sins, he hateth him not as an officer, but pities him as a father: and even in those wrongs which either in tithing or otherwise are done to his own person, he considers the offender as a child, and forgives, so he may have any sign of amendment; so also when after many admonitions, any continue to be refractory, yet he gives him not over, but is long before he proceed to disinheriting, or perhaps never goes so far; knowing that some are called at the eleventh hour, and therefore he still expects, and waits, lest he should determine God's hour of coming; which as he cannot, touching the last day, so neither touching the intermediate days of conversion.

CHAPTER XVII.

THE PARSON IN JOURNEY.

THE Country Parson, when a just occasion calleth him out of his parish (which he diligently, and strictly weigheth, his parish being all his joy, and thought) leaveth not his ministry behind him; but is himself wherever he is. Therefore those he meets on the way he blesseth audibly, and with those he overtakes or that overtake him, he begins good discourses, such as may edify, interposing sometimes some short and honest refreshments, which may make his other discourses more welcome, and less tedious. And when he comes to his inn, he refuseth not to join, that he may enlarge the glory of God to the company he is in, by a due blessing of God for their safe arrival, and saying grace at meat, and at going to bed by giving the host notice, that he will have prayers in the hall, wishing him to inform his guests thereof, that if any be willing to partake, they may resort thither. The like he doth in the morning, using pleasantly the outlandish proverb, that *prayers and provender never hinder journey*. When he comes to any other house, *where his kindred or other relations give him any authority over the family*, if he be to stay for a time, he considers diligently the state thereof to Godward, and that in two points: first, what disorders

there are either in apparel, or diet, or too open a buttery, or reading vain books, or swearing, or breeding up children to no calling, but in idleness, or the like. Secondly, what means of piety, whether daily prayers be used, grace, reading of Scriptures, and other good books, how *Sundays, holydays, and fasting days* are kept. And accordingly, as he finds any defect in these, he first considers with himself, what kind of remedy fits the temper of the house best, and then he faithfully, and boldly applieth it; yet seasonably, and discreetly, by taking aside the lord or lady; or *master* and *mistress* of the house, and shewing them clearly, that they respect them most, who wish them best, and that not a desire to meddle with others' affairs, but the earnestness to do all the good he can, moves him to say thus and thus.

CHAPTER XVIII.

THE PARSON IN SENTINEL.

THE Country Parson, wherever he is, keeps God's watch; that is, there is nothing spoken, or done in the company where he is, but comes under his test and censure: if it be well spoken or done, he takes occasion to commend, and enlarge it; if ill, he presently lays hold of it, lest the poison steal into some young and unwary spirits, and possess them even before they themselves heed it. But

this he doth discreetly, with mollifying and suppling words: this was not so well said, as it might have been forborne; we cannot allow this: or else if the thing will admit interpretation; your meaning is not thus, but thus; or, so far indeed what you say is true, and well said; but this will not stand. This is called keeping God's watch, when the baits which the enemy lays in company, are discovered and avoided: this is to be on God's side, and be true to his party. Besides, if he perceive in company any discourse tending to ill, either by the wickedness or quarrelsomeness thereof, he either prevents it judiciously, or breaks it off seasonably by some diversion. Wherein a pleasantness of disposition is of great use, men being willing to sell the interest, and engagement of their discourses for no price sooner than that of mirth; whither the nature of man, loving refreshment, gladly betakes itself, even to the loss of honour.

CHAPTER XIX.

THE PARSON IN REFERENCE.

THE Country Parson is sincere and upright in all his relations. And first, he is just to his country; as when he is set at an armour, or horse, he borrows them not to serve the turn, nor provides slight, and unuseful, but such as are every way fitting to do his country true and laudable service, when

occasion requires. To do otherwise, is deceit; and therefore, not for him, who is hearty, and true in all his ways, as being the servant of Him, in whom there was no guile. Likewise in any other country-duty, he considers what is the end of any command, and then he suits things faithfully according to that end. Secondly, he carries himself very respectively, as to all the fathers of the church, so especially to his diocesan, honouring him both in word and behaviour, and resorting unto him in any difficulty, either in his studies or in his parish. He observes visitations, and being there, makes due use of them, as of clergy councils, for the benefit of the diocese And therefore before he comes, having observed some defects in the ministry, he then either in sermon, if he preach, or at some other time of the day, propounds among his brethren what were fitting to be done. Thirdly, he keeps good correspondence with all the neighbouring pastors round about him, performing for them any ministerial office, which is not to the prejudice of his own parish. Likewise he welcomes to his house any minister, how poor or mean soever, with as joyful a countenance, as if he were to entertain some great lord. Fourthly, he fulfils the duty, and debt of neighbourhood to all the parishes which are near him. For the apostle's rule, Philip. iv., being admirable, and large, that *we should do whatsoever things are honest, or just, or pure, or lovely, or of good report, if there be any virtue, or any praise.* And neighbourhood

being ever reputed, even among the heathen, as an obligation to do good, rather than to those that are further, where things are otherwise equal, therefore he satisfies this duty also. Especially, if God have sent any calamity either by fire or famine, to any neighbouring parish, then he expects no brief; but taking his parish together *the next Sunday*, or *holy-day*, and exposing to them the uncertainty of human affairs, none knowing whose turn may be next, and then when he hath affrighted them with this, exposing the obligation of charity, and neighbourhood, he first gives himself liberally, and then incites them to give; making together a sum either to be sent, or, which were more comfortable, all together choosing some fit day to carry it themselves, and cheer the afflicted. So, if any neighbouring village be overburdened with poor, and his own less charged, he finds some way of relieving it, and reducing the manna, and bread of charity to some equality, representing to his people, that the blessing of God to them ought to make them the more charitable, and not the less, lest he cast their neighbours' poverty on them also.

CHAPTER XX.

THE PARSON IN GOD'S STEAD.

THE Country Parson is in God's stead to his parish, and dischargeth God what he can of his promises. Wherefore there is nothing done either well or ill, whereof he is not the rewarder, or punisher. If he chance to find any reading in another's Bible, he provides him one of his own. If he find another giving a poor man a penny, he gives him a tester for it, if the giver be fit to receive it; or if he be of a condition above such gifts, he sends him a good book, or easeth him in his tithes, telling him when he hath forgotten it, This I do, because at such and such a time you were charitable. This is in some sort a discharging of God; as concerning this life, who hath promised, that godliness shall be gainful: but in the other God is his own immediate paymaster, rewarding all good deeds to their full proportion. "The parson's punishing of sin and vice is rather by withdrawing his bounty and courtesy from the parties offending, or by private or public reproof, as the case requires, than by causing them to be presented, or otherwise complained of. And yet, as the malice of the person or heinousness of the crime may be, he is careful to see condign punishment inflicted, and with truly godly zeal, without hatred to the person, hungreth and thirsteth

after righteous punishment of unrighteousness. Thus both in rewarding virtue, and in punishing vice, the parson endeavoureth to be in God's stead, knowing that country people are drawn or led by sense, more than by faith, by present rewards or punishments, more than by future."

CHAPTER XXI.

THE PARSON CATECHIZING.

THE Country Parson values catechizing highly: for there being three points of his duty; the one, to infuse a competent knowledge of salvation in every one of his flock; the other, to multiply, and build up this knowledge to a spiritual temple; the third, to inflame this knowledge, to press, and drive it to practice, turning it to reformation of life, by pithy and lively exhortations; catechizing is the first point, and but by catechizing, the other cannot be attained. Besides, whereas in sermons there is a kind of state, in catechizing there is an humbleness very suitable to Christian regeneration; which exceedingly delights him as by way of exercise upon himself, and by way of preaching to himself, for the advancing of his own mortification: for in preaching to others, he forgets not himself, but is first a sermon to himself, and then to others; growing with the growth of his parish. He useth, and preferreth the ordinary church catechism, partly for

obedience to authority, partly for uniformity sake, that the same common truths may be every where professed, especially since many remove from parish to parish, who like Christian soldiers are to give the word, and to satisfy the congregation by their catholic answers. He exacts of all the doctrine of the catechism; of the younger sort, the very words; of the elder, the substance. Those he catechizeth publicly, these privately, giving age honour, according to the apostle's rule, 1 Tim. v. 1. He requires all to be present at catechizing; first, for the authority of the work; secondly, that parents, and masters, as they hear the answers prove, may when they come home, either commend or reprove, either reward or punish. Thirdly, that those of the elder sort, who are not well grounded, may then by an honourable way take occasion to be better instructed. Fourthly, that those who are well grown in the knowledge of religion, may examine their grounds, renew their vows, and by occasion of both, enlarge their meditations. When once all have learned the words of the catechism, he thinks it the most useful way that a pastor can take, to go over the same, but in other words: for many say the catechism by rote, as parrots, without ever piercing into the sense of it. In this course the order of the catechism would be kept, but the rest varied: as thus, in the creed: how came this world to be as it is? Was it made, or came it by chance? Who made it? Did you see God make it? Then

are there some things to be believed that are not seen? Is this the nature of belief? Is not Christianity full of such things, as are not to be seen, but believed? You said, God made the world; who is God? And so forward, requiring answers to all these, and helping and cherishing the answerer, by making the questions very plain with comparisons, and making much even of a word of truth from him. This order being used to one, would be a little varied to another. And this is an admirable way of teaching, wherein the catechized will at length find delight, and by which the catechizer, if he once get the skill of it, will draw out of ignorant and silly souls, even the dark and deep points of religion. *Socrates* did thus in philosophy, who held that the seeds of all truths lay in every body, and accordingly, by questions well ordered, he found philosophy in silly tradesmen. That position will not hold in Christianity, because it contains things above nature: but after that the catechism is once learned, that which nature is towards philosophy, the catechism is towards divinity. To this purpose, some dialogues in *Plato* were worth the reading, where the singular dexterity of *Socrates* in this kind may be observed, and imitated. Yet the skill consists but in these three points: first, an aim and mark of the whole discourse, whither to drive the answerer, which the questionist must have in his mind before any question be propounded, upon which and to which the questions are to

be chanted. Secondly, a most plain and easy framing the question, even containing in virtue the answer also, especially to the more ignorant. Thirdly, when the answerer sticks, an illustrating the thing by something else, which he knows, making what he knows to serve him in that which he knows not: as, when the parson once demanded, after other questions about man's misery; since man is so miserable, what is to be done? And the answerer could not tell; he asked him again, what he would do if he were in a ditch? This familiar illustration made the answer so plain, that he was even ashamed of his ignorance; for he could not but say, he would haste out of it as fast as he could. Then he proceeded to ask, whether he could get out of the ditch alone, or whether he needed a helper, and who was that helper. This is the skill, and doubtless the Holy Scripture intends that much, when it condescends to the naming of a plough, a hatchet, a bushel, leaven, boys piping and dancing; shewing that things of ordinary use are not only to serve in the way of drudgery, but to be washed and cleansed, and serve for lights even of heavenly truths. This is the practice which the parson so much commends to all his fellow-labourers; the secret of whose good consists in this; that at sermons and prayers men may sleep, or wander; but when one is asked a question, he must discover what he is. This practice exceeds even sermons in teaching; but there being two things in sermons,

the one informing, the other inflaming; as sermons come short of questions in the one, so they far exceed them in the other. For questions cannot inflame or ravish, that must be done by a set, and laboured, and continued speech.

CHAPTER XXII.

THE PARSON IN SACRAMENTS.

THE Country Parson being to administer the sacraments, is at a stand with himself, how or what behaviour to assume for so holy things. Especially at communion times he is in a great confusion, as being not only to receive God, but to break and administer him. Neither finds he any issue in this, but to throw himself down at the throne of grace, saying, Lord, thou knowest what thou didst, when thou appointedst it to be done thus; therefore do thou fulfil what thou didst appoint; for thou art not only the feast, but the way to it. At baptism, being himself in white, he requires the presence of all, and baptizeth not willingly, but on Sundays, or great days. He admits no vain or idle names, but such as are usual and accustomed. He says that prayer with great devotion, where God is thanked for calling us to the knowledge of his grace, baptism being a blessing, that the world hath not the like. He willingly and cheerfully crosseth the child, and thinketh the ceremony not

only innocent, but reverend. He instructeth the godfathers, and godmothers, that it is no complimental or light thing to sustain that place, but a great honour, and no less burden, as being done both in the presence of God, and his saints, and by way of undertaking for a Christian soul. He adviseth all to call to mind their baptism often; for if wise men have thought it the best way of preserving a state to reduce it to its principles by which it grew great; certainly it is the safest course for Christians also to meditate on their baptism often (being the first step into their great and glorious calling) and upon what terms, and with what vows they were baptized. At the times of the holy communion, he first takes order with the churchwardens, that the elements be of the best, not cheap, or coarse, much less ill-tasted, or unwholesome. Secondly, he considers and looks into the ignorance, or carelessness of his flock, and accordingly applies himself with catechizings, and lively exhortations, not on the Sunday of the communion only (for then it is too late) but the Sunday, or Sundays before the communion, or on the eves of all those days. If there be any, who having not received yet, is to enter into this great work, he takes the more pains with them, that he may lay the foundation of future blessings. The time of every one's first receiving is not so much by years, as by understanding: particularly the rule may be this: when any one can distinguish the sacramental from

common bread, knowing the institution, and the difference, he ought to receive, of what age soever. Children and youths are usually deferred too long, under pretence of devotion to the sacrament, but it is for want of instruction; their understandings being ripe enough for ill things, and why not then for better? But parents and masters should make haste in this, as to a great purchase for their children, and servants; which while they defer, both sides suffer; the one, in wanting many excitings of grace; the other, in being worse served and obeyed. The saying of the catechism is necessary, but not enough; because to answer in form may still admit ignorance: but the questions must be propounded loosely and wildly, and then the answerer will discover what he is. Thirdly, for the manner of receiving, as the parson useth all reverence himself, so he administers to none but to the reverent. The feast indeed requires sitting, because it is a feast; but man's unpreparedness asks kneeling. He that comes to the sacrament, hath the confidence of a guest, and he that kneels, confesseth himself an unworthy one, and therefore differs from other feasters: but he that sits, or lies, puts up to an apostle: contentiousness in a feast of charity is more scandal than any posture. Fourthly, touching the frequency of the communion, the parson celebrates it, if not duly once a month, yet at least five or six times in the year: as, at Easter, Christmas, Whitsuntide, before and after harvest,

and the beginning of Lent. And this he doth, not only for the benefit of the work, but also for the discharge of the churchwardens, who being to present all that receive not thrice a year; if there be but three communions, neither can all the people so order their affairs as to receive just at those times, nor the churchwardens so well take notice who receive thrice, and who not.

CHAPTER XXIII.

THE PARSON'S COMPLETENESS.

THE Country parson desires to be all to his parish, and not only a pastor, but a lawyer also, and a physician. Therefore he endures not that any of his flock should go to law; but in any controversy, that they should resort to him as their judge. To this end, he hath gotten to himself some insight in things ordinarily incident and controverted, by experience, and by reading some initiatory treatises in the law, with *Dalton's* Justice of Peace, and the Abridgments of the Statutes, as also by discourse with men of that profession, whom he hath ever some cases to ask, when he meets with them; holding that rule, that to put men to discourse of that, wherein they are most eminent, is the most gainful way of conversation. Yet whenever any controversy is brought to him, he never decides it alone; but sends for three or four of the ablest of

the parish to hear the cause with him, whom he makes to deliver their opinion first; out of which he gathers, in case he be ignorant himself, what to hold; and so the thing passeth with more authority, and less envy; in judging, he follows that, which is altogether right: so that if the poorest man of the parish detain but a pin unjustly from the richest, he absolutely restores it as a judge; but when he hath so done, then he assumes the parson, and exhorts to charity. Nevertheless, there may happen sometimes some cases, wherein he chooseth to permit his parishioners rather to make use of the law, than himself: as in cases of an obscure and dark nature, not easily determinable by lawyers themselves; or in cases of high consequence, as establishing of inheritances: or lastly, when the persons in difference are of a contentious disposition, and cannot be gained, but that they still fall from all compromises that have been made. *But then he shews them how to go to law, even as brethren, and not as enemies, neither avoiding therefore one another's company, much less defaming one another.* Now as the Parson is in law, so is he in sickness also: if there be any of his flock sick, he is their physician, or at least his wife, of whom instead of the qualities of the world, he asks no other, but to have the skill of healing a wound, or helping the sick. But if neither himself, nor his wife have the skill, and his means serve, he keeps some young practitioner in his house for the benefit of his parish, whom yet he

ever exhorts not to exceed his bounds, but in difficult cases to call in help. If all fail, then he keeps good correspondence with some neighbour physician, and entertains him for the cure of his parish. Yet it is easy for any scholar to attain to such a measure of physic, as may be of much use to him both for himself, and others. This is done by seeing one anatomy, reading one book of physic, having one herbal by him. And let *Fernelius* be the physic author, for he writes briefly, neatly, and judiciously: especially let his method of physic be diligently perused, as being the practical part, and of most use. Now both the reading of him, and the knowing of herbs may be done at such times, as they may be an help and a recreation, to more divine studies, nature serving grace both in comfort of diversion, and the benefit of application, when need requires: as also, by way of illustration, even as our Saviour made plants and seeds to teach the people: for he was the true householder, who bringeth out of his treasure things new and old; the old things of philosophy, and the new of grace; and maketh the one serve the other. And I conceive, our Saviour did this for three reasons: first, that by familiar things he might make his doctrine slip the more easily into the hearts even of the meanest. Secondly, that labouring people (whom he chiefly considered) might have every where monuments of his doctrine, remembering in gardens, his mustard-seed, and lilies; in the field, his seed-corn, and tares;

and so not be drowned altogether in the works of their vocation, but sometimes lift up their minds to better things, even in the midst of their pains. Thirdly, that he might set a copy for parsons. In the knowledge of simples, wherein the manifold wisdom of God is wonderfully to be seen, one thing would be carefully observed; which is, to know what herbs may be used instead of drugs of the same nature, and to make the garden the shop: for home-bred medicines are both more easy for the parson's purse, and more familiar for all men's bodies. So, where the apothecary useth either for loosing, rhubarb; or for binding, bolearmena, the parson useth damask or white roses for the one, and plaintain, shepherd's purse, knot-grass, for the other, and that with better success. As for spices, he doth not only prefer home-bred things before them, but condemns them for vanities, and so shuts them out of his family, esteeming that there is no spice comparable, for herbs, to rosemary, thyme, savoury, mints; and for seeds, to fennel, and carraway seeds. Accordingly for salves, his wife seeks not the city, but prefers her garden and fields, before all outlandish gums. And surely hyssop, valerian, mercury, adder's tongue, yerrow, melilot, and St. *John's*-wort made into a salve; and elder, camomile, mallows, comphrey and smallage made into a poultice, have done great and rare cures. In curing of any, the parson and his family use to premise prayers, for this is to cure like a parson, and

this raiseth the action from the shop, to the church. But though the parson sets forward all charitable deeds, yet he looks not in this point of curing beyond his own parish, except the person be so poor, that he is not able to reward the physician: for as he is charitable, so he is just also. Now it is a justice and debt to the commonwealth he lives in, not to encroach on others' professions, but to live on his own. And justice is the ground of charity.

CHAPTER XXIV.

THE PARSON'S ARGUING.

THE Country Parson, if there be any of his parish that hold strange doctrines, useth all possible diligence to reduce them to the common faith. The first means he useth is prayer, beseeching the Father of lights to open their eyes, and to give him power so to fit his discourse to them, that it may effectually pierce their hearts, and convert them. The second means is a very loving, and sweet usage of them, both in going to, and sending for them often, and in finding out courtesies to place on them; as in their tithes, or otherwise. The third means is the observation, what is the main foundation and pillar of their cause, wherein they rely; as if he be a papist, the church is the hinge he turns on; if a schismatic, scandal. Wherefore the parson hath diligently examined these two with

himself, as what the church is, how it began, how it proceeded, whether it be a rule to itself, whether it hath a rule, whether having a rule, it ought not to be guided by it; whether any rule in the world be obscure, and how then should the best be so, at least in fundamental things, the obscurity in some points being the exercise of the church, the light in the foundations being the guide; the church needing both an evidence, and an exercise. So for scandal: what scandal is, when given or taken; whether there being two precepts, one of obeying authority, the other of not giving scandal, that ought not to be preferred, especially since in disobeying there is scandal also: whether things once indifferent, being made by the precept of authority more than indifferent, it be in our power to omit or refuse them. These and the like points he hath accurately digested, having ever besides two great helps and powerful persuaders on his side; the one, a strict religious life; the other an humble and ingenuous search of truth, being unmoved in arguing, and void of all contentiousness: which are two great lights able to dazzle the eyes of the misled, while they consider, that God cannot be wanting to them in doctrine, to whom he is so gracious in life.

CHAPTER XXV.

THE PARSON PUNISHING.

WHENSOEVER the Country Parson proceeds so far as to call in authority, and to do such things of legal opposition either in the presenting or punishing of any, as the vulgar ever construes for signs of ill will; he forbears not in any wise to use the delinquent as before, in his behaviour and carriage towards him, not avoiding his company, or doing any thing of averseness, save in the very act of punishment: neither doth he esteem him for an enemy, but as a brother still, except some small and temporary estranging may corroborate the punishment to a better subduing and humbling of the delinquent; which if it happily take effect, he then comes on the faster, and makes so much the more of him, as before he alienated himself; doubling his regards, and shewing by all means, that the delinquent's return is to his advantage.

CHAPTER XXVI.

THE PARSON'S EYE.

THE Country Parson at spare times from action, standing on a hill, and considering his flock, discovers two sorts of vices, and two sorts of vicious persons. There are some vices, whose natures are

always clear, and evident, as adultery, murder, hatred, lying, &c. There are other vices, whose natures, at least in the beginning, are dark and obscure; as covetousness, and gluttony. So likewise there are some persons, who abstain not even from known sins; there are others, who when they know a sin evidently, they commit it not. It is true, indeed, they are long a knowing it, being partial to themselves, and witty to others who shall reprove them for it. A man may be both covetous, and intemperate, and yet hear sermons against both, and himself condemn both in good earnest: and the reason hereof is, because the natures of these vices being not evidently discussed, or known commonly, the beginnings of them are not easily observable: and the beginnings of them are not observed, because of the sudden passing from that which was just now lawful, to that which is presently unlawful, even in one continued action. So a man dining, eats at first lawfully; but proceeding on, comes to do unlawfully, even before he is aware; not knowing the bounds of the action, nor when his eating begins to be unlawful. So a man storing up money for his necessary provisions, both in present for his family, and in future for his children, hardly perceives when his storing becomes unlawful: yet is there a period for his storing, and a point, or centre, when his storing, which was even now good, passeth from good to bad. Wherefore the parson being true to his business, hath exactly

sifted the definitions of all virtues and vices; especially canvassing those, whose natures are most stealing, and beginnings uncertain. Particularly, concerning these two vices, not because they are all that are of this dark and creeping disposition, but for example sake, and because they are most common, he thus thinks: first, for covetousness, he lays this ground: whosoever when a just occasion calls, either spends not at all, or not in some proportion to God's blessing upon him, is covetous. The reason of the ground is manifest, because wealth is given to that end, to supply our occasions. Now, if I do not give every thing its end, I abuse the creature, I am false to my reason which should guide me, I offend the Supreme Judge, in perverting that order which he hath set both to things, and to reason. The application of the ground would be infinite; but in brief, a poor man is an occasion, my country is an occasion, my friend is an occasion, my table is an occasion, my apparel is an occasion: if in all these, and those more which concern me, I either do nothing, or pinch, and scrape, and squeeze blood indecently to the station wherein God hath placed me, I am covetous. More particularly, and to give one instance for all, if God have given me servants, and I either provide too little for them, or that which is unwholesome, being sometimes baned meat, sometimes too salt, and so not competent nourishment, I am covetous. I bring this example, because men usually

think, that servants for their money are as other things that they buy, even as a piece of wood, which they may cut, or hack, or throw into the fire, and so they pay them their wages, all is well. Nay, to descend yet more particularly, if a man hath wherewithal to buy a spade, and yet he chooseth rather to use his neighbour's, and wear out that, he is covetous. Nevertheless, few bring covetousness thus low, or consider it so narrowly, which yet ought to be done, since there is a justice in the least things, and for the least there shall be a judgment. Country people are full of these petty injustices, being cunning to make use of another, and spare themselves; and scholars ought to be diligent in the observation of these, and driving of their general school-rules ever to the smallest actions of life; which while they dwell in their books, they will never find; but being seated in the country, and doing their duty faithfully, they will soon discover: especially if they carry their eyes ever open, and fix them on their charge, and not on their preferment. Secondly, for gluttony, the parson lays this ground, he that either for quantity eats more than his health or employments will bear, or for quality is lickerish after dainties, is a glutton; as he that eats more than his estate will bear, is a prodigal; and he that eats offensively to the company, either in his order, or length of eating, is scandalous and uncharitable. These three rules generally comprehend the faults of eating, and the truth of

them needs no proof: so that men must eat, neither to the disturbance of their health, nor of their affairs, (which being over-burdened or studying dainties too much, they cannot well dispatch), nor of their estate, nor of their brethren. One act in these things is bad, but it is the custom and habit that names a glutton. Many think they are at more liberty than they are, as if they were masters of their health, and so they will stand to the pain, all is well. But to eat to one's hurt comprehends, besides the hurt, an act against reason, because it is unnatural to hurt oneself; and this they are not masters of. Yet of hurtful things, I am more bound to abstain from those, which by my own experience I have found hurtful, than from those which by a common tradition, and vulgar knowledge are reputed to be so. That which is said of hurtful meats extends to hurtful drinks also. As for the quantity, touching our employments, none must eat so as to disable themselves from a fit discharging either of divine duties, or duties of their calling. So that if after dinner they are not fit (or unwieldy) either to pray, or work, they are gluttons. Not that all must presently work after dinner, (for they rather must not work, especially students, and those that are weakly); but that they must rise so, as that it is not meat, or drink, that hinders them from working. To guide them in this, there are three rules: first, the custom and knowledge of their own body, and what it can well digest: the second, the

feeling of themselves in time of eating, which because it is deceitful; (for one thinks in eating, that he can eat more, than afterwards he finds true): the third is the observation with what appetite they sit down. This last rule joined with the first, never fails. For knowing what one usually can well digest, and feeling when I go to meat in what disposition I am, either hungry or not, according as I feel myself, either I take my wonted proportion, or diminish of it. Yet physicians bid those that would live in health, not keep a uniform diet, but to feed variously, now more, now less: and *Gerson*, a spiritual man, wisheth all to incline rather to too much, than to too little; his reason is, because diseases of exinanition are more dangerous than diseases of repletion. But the Parson distinguisheth according to his double aim, either of abstinence a moral virtue, or mortification a divine. When he deals with any that is heavy and carnal, he gives him those freer rules; but when he meets with a refined, and heavenly disposition, he carries them higher, even sometimes to a forgetting of themselves, knowing that there is One, who when they forget, remembers for them; as when the people hungered and thirsted after our Saviour's doctrine, and tarried so long at it, that they would have fainted had they returned empty, he suffered it not; but rather made food miraculously, than suffered so good desires to miscarry.

CHAPTER XXVII.

THE PARSON IN MIRTH.

THE Country Parson is generally sad, because he knows nothing but the cross of Christ, his mind being defixed on it, with those nails wherewith his Master was: or if he have any leisure to look off from thence, he meets continually with two most sad spectacles, sin, and misery; God dishonoured every day; and man afflicted. Nevertheless, he sometimes refresheth himself, as knowing that nature will not bear everlasting droopings, and that pleasantness of disposition is a great key to do good; not only because all men shun the company of perpetual severity, but also for that when they are in company, instructions seasoned with pleasantness, both enter sooner, and root deeper. Wherefore he condescends to human frailties both in himself and others; and intermingles some mirth in his discourses occasionally, according to the pulse of the hearer.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

THE PARSON IN CONTEMPT.

THE Country Parson knows well, that both for the general ignominy which is cast upon the profession, and much more for those rules, which out of

his choicest judgment, he hath resolved to observe, and which are described in this book, he must be despised; because this hath been the portion of God his Master, and of God's saints his brethren, and this is foretold, that it shall be so still, until things be no more. Nevertheless, according to the apostle's rule, he endeavours that none shall despise him; especially in his own parish, he suffers it not to his utmost power; for that, where contempt is, there is no room for instruction. This he procures, first by his holy and unblameable life; which carries a reverence with it, even above contempt. Secondly, by a courteous carriage, and winning behaviour: he that will be respected, must respect; doing kindnesses, but receiving none; at least of those, who are apt to despise: for this argues a height and eminency of mind, which is not easily despised, except it degenerate to pride. Thirdly, by a bold and impartial reproof, even of the best in the parish, when occasion requires: for this may produce hatred in those that are reproved, but never contempt either in them, or others. Lastly, if the contempt shall proceed so far as to do any thing punishable by law, as contempt is apt to do, if it be not thwarted, *the Parson having a due respect both to the person and to the cause, referreth the whole matter to the examination, and punishment of those which are in authority;* that so the sentence lighting upon one, the example may reach to all. But if the contempt be not punishable by law, or being so, the

Parson think it in his discretion either unfit, or bootless to contend, then when any despises him, he takes it either in an humble way, saying nothing at all; or else in a slighting way, shewing that reproaches touch him no more, than a stone thrown against heaven, where he is, and lives; or in a sad way, grieved at his own, and others' sins, which continually break God's laws, and dishonour him with those mouths, which he continually fills, and feeds: or else in a doctrinal way, saying to the contemner, Alas, why do you thus? you hurt yourself, not me; he that throws a stone at another, hits himself; and so between gentle reasoning, and pitying, he overcomes the evil: or lastly, in a triumphant way, being glad, and joyful, that he is made conformable to his Master; and being in the world as he was, hath this undoubted pledge of his salvation. These are the five shields wherewith the godly receive the darts of the wicked; leaving anger, and retorting, and revenge to the children of the world, whom another's ill mastereth, and leadeth captive without any resistance, even in resistance, to the same destruction. For while they resist the person that reviles, they resist not the evil which takes hold of them, and is far the worst enemy.

CHAPTER XXIX.

THE PARSON WITH HIS CHURCHWARDENS.

THE Country Parson doth often, both publicly and privately, instruct his churchwardens, what a great charge lies upon them, and that indeed the whole order and discipline of the parish is put into their hands. If himself reform any thing, it is out of the overflowing of his conscience, whereas they are to do it by command, and by oath. Neither hath the place its dignity from the ecclesiastical laws only, since even by the common statute law, they are taken for a kind of corporation, as being persons enabled by that name to take moveable goods, or chattels, and to sue, and to be sued at law concerning such goods for the use and profit of their parish: and by the same law they are to levy penalties for negligence in resorting to church, or for disorderly carriage in time of divine service. Wherefore the Parson suffers not the place to be vilified or debased, by being cast on the lower rank of people; but invites and urges the best unto it, shewing that they do not lose, or go less, but gain by it; it being the greatest honour of this world, to do God and his chosen service; or as *David* says, to be even a door-keeper in the house of God. Now the canons being the churchwardens' rule, the Parson adviseth them to read, or hear them read

often, as also the visitation articles, which are grounded upon the canons, that so they may know their duty, and keep their oath the better; in which regard, considering the great consequence of their place, and more of their oath, he wisheth them by no means to spare any, though never so great; but if after gentle and neighbourly admonitions, they still persist in ill, to present them; yea though they be tenants, or otherwise engaged to the delinquent: for their obligation to God, and their own soul, is above any temporal tie. Do well and right, and let the world sink.

CHAPTER XXX.

THE PARSON'S CONSIDERATION OF PROVIDENCE.

THE Country Parson, considering the great aptness, country people have to think that all things come by a kind of natural course; and that if they sow and soil their grounds, they must have corn; if they keep and fodder well their cattle, they must have milk, and calves; labours to reduce them to see God's hand in all things, and to believe, that things are not set in such an inevitable order, but that God often changeth it according as he sees fit, either for reward or punishment. To this end he represents to his flock, that God hath, and exerciseth a threefold power in every thing which concerns man. The first is a sustaining power; the

second, a governing power; the third, a spiritual power. By his sustaining power he preserves and actuates every thing in his being; so that corn doth not grow by any other virtue, than by that which he continually supplies, as the corn needs it; without which supply the corn would instantly dry up, as a river would, if the fountain were stopped. And it is observable, that if any thing could presume of an inevitable course, and constancy in their operations, certainly it should be either the sun in heaven, or the fire on earth, by reason of their fierce, strong, and violent natures; yet when God pleased, the sun stood still, the fire burned not. By God's governing power he preserves and orders the references of things one to the other, so that though the corn do grow, and be preserved in that act by his sustaining power, yet if he suit not other things to the growth, as seasons, and weather, and other accidents, by his governing power, the fairest harvests come to nothing. And it is observable, that God delights to have men feel, and acknowledge, and reverence his power, and therefore he often overturns things, when they are thought past danger; that is his time of interposing: as when a merchant hath a ship come home after many a storm, which it hath escaped, he destroys it sometimes in the very haven; or if the goods be housed, a fire hath broken forth, and suddenly consumed them. Now this he doth, that men should perpetuate, and not break off their acts of dependence,

how fair soever the opportunities present themselves. So that if a farmer should depend upon God all the year, and being ready to put hand to sickle, shall then secure himself, and think all cock sure; then God sends such weather, as lays the corn, and destroys it: or if he depend on God further, even till he imbarn his corn, and then think all sure; God sends a fire and consumes all that he hath: for that he ought not to break off, but to continue his dependence on God, not only before the corn is inned, but after also; and, indeed, to depend, and fear continually. The third power is spiritual, by which God turns all outward blessings to inward advantages. So that if a farmer hath both a fair harvest, and that also well inned, and imbarned, and continuing safe there; yet if God give him not the grace to use and utter this well, all his advantages are to his loss. Better were his corn burnt, than not spiritually improved. And it is observable in this, how God's goodness strives with man's refractoriness; man would sit down at this world, God bids him sell it, and purchase a better: just as a father who hath in his hand an apple, and a piece of gold under it; the child comes, and with pulling, gets the apple out of his father's hand: his father bids him throw it away, and he will give him the gold for it, which the child utterly refusing, eats it, and is troubled with worms: so is the carnal and wilful man with the worm of the grave in this world, and the worm of conscience in the next.

CHAPTER XXXI.

THE PARSON IN LIBERTY.

THE Country Parson observing the manifold wiles of Satan (who plays his part sometimes in drawing God's servants from him, sometimes in perplexing them in the service of God) stands fast in the liberty wherewith Christ hath made us free. This liberty he compasseth by one distinction, and that is, of what is necessary, and what is additionary. As for example; it is necessary that all Christians should pray twice a day, every day of the week, and four times on Sunday, if they be well. This is so necessary, and essential to a Christian, that he cannot without this maintain himself in a Christian state. Besides this, the godly have ever added some hours of prayer, as at nine, or at three, or at midnight, or as they think fit, and see cause, or rather as God's Spirit leads them. But these prayers are not necessary, but additionary. Now it so happens, that the godly petitioner upon some emergent interruption in the day, or by oversleeping himself at night, omits his additionary prayer. Upon this his mind begins to be perplexed, and troubled, and Satan, who knows the exigent, blows the fire, endeavouring to disorder the Christian, and put him out of his station, and to enlarge the perplexity, until it spread, and taint his other duties

of piety, which none can perform so well in trouble, as in calmness. Here the Parson interposeth with his distinction, and shews the perplexed Christian, that this prayer being additionary, not necessary; taken in, not commanded, the omission thereof upon just occasion ought by no means to trouble him. God knows the occasion, as well as he, and He is as a gracious Father, who more accepts a common course of devotion, than dislikes an occasional interruption. And of this he is so to assure himself, as to admit no scruple, but to go on as cheerfully, as if he had not been interrupted. By this it is evident that the distinction is of singular use and comfort, especially to pious minds, which are ever tender, and delicate. But here there are two cautions to be added. First, that this interruption proceed not out of slackness, or coldness, which will appear if the pious soul foresee and prevent such interruptions, what he may, before they come, and when for all that they do come, he be a little affected therewith, but not afflicted, or troubled; if he resent it to a mislike, but not a grief. Secondly, that this interruption proceed not out of shame. As for example: a godly man, not out of superstition, but of reverence to God's house, resolves whenever he enters into a church, to kneel down and pray, either blessing God, that he will be pleased to dwell among men; or beseeching him, that whenever he repairs to his house, he may behave himself so as befits so great a presence; and this briefly. But

it happens that near the place where he is to pray, he spies some scoffing ruffian, who is likely to deride him for his pains: if he now shall either for fear or shame, break his custom, he shall do passing ill: so much the rather ought he to proceed, as that by this he may take into his prayer humiliation also. On the other side, if I am to visit the sick in haste, and my nearest way lie through the church, I will not doubt to go without staying to pray there (but only, as I pass, in my heart) because this kind of prayer is additionary, not necessary, and the other duty overweighs it: so that if any scruple arise, I will throw it away, and be most confident, that God is not displeased. This distinction may run through all Christian duties, and it is a great stay and settling to religious souls.

CHAPTER XXXII.

THE PARSON'S SURVEYS.

THE Country Parson hath not only taken a particular survey of the faults of his own parish, but a general also of the diseases of the time, that so, when his occasions carry him abroad, or bring strangers to him, he may be the better armed to encounter them. The great and national sin of this land he esteems to be idleness; great in itself, and great in consequence: for when men have nothing to do, then they fall to drink, to steal, to whore,

to scoff, to revile, to all sorts of gamings. Come, say they, we have nothing to do, let's go to the tavern, or to the stews, or what not? Wherefore the Parson strongly opposeth this sin, wheresoever he goes. And because idleness is twofold, the one in having no calling, the other in walking carelessly in our calling, he first represents to every body the necessity of a vocation. The reason of this assertion is taken from the nature of man, wherein God hath placed two great instruments, reason in the soul, and a hand in the body, as engagements of working; so that even in paradise man had a calling, and how much more out of paradise, when the evils which he is now subject unto, may be prevented, or diverted by reasonable employment. Besides, every gift or ability is a talent to be accounted for, and to be improved to our Master's advantage. Yet is it also a debt to our country to have a calling; and it concerns the commonwealth, that none should be idle, but all busied. Lastly, riches are the blessing of God, and the great instrument of doing admirable good; therefore all are to procure them honestly and seasonably when they are not better employed. Now this reason crosseth not our Saviour's precept of selling what we have, because when we have sold all, and given it to the poor, we must not be idle, but labour to get more, that we may give more, according to St. Paul's rule, Ephesians iv. 28, 1 Thessalonians iv. 11, 12. So that our Saviour's selling is so far from crossing Saint

Paul's working, that it rather establisheth it, since they that have nothing, are fittest to work. Now because the only opposer to this doctrine is the gallant, who is witty enough to abuse both others, and himself, and who is ready to ask, if he shall mend shoes, or what he shall do? Therefore the Parson unmoved, sheweth, that *ingenuous and fit* employment is never wanting to those that seek it. But if it should be, the assertion stands thus: all are either to have a calling, or prepare for it: he that hath or can have yet no employment, if he truly, and seriously prepare for it, he is safe and within bounds. Wherefore all are either presently to enter into a calling, if they be fit for it, and it for them; or else to examine with care, and advice, what they are fittest for, and to prepare for that with all diligence. But it will not be amiss in this exceeding useful point to descend to particulars; for exactness lies in particulars. Men are either single, or married: the married and housekeeper hath his hands full, if he do what he ought to do. For there are two branches of his affairs; first, the improvement of his family, by bringing them up in the fear and nurture of the Lord; and secondly, the improvement of his grounds, by drowning, or draining, or stocking, or fencing, and ordering his land to the best advantage both of himself and his neighbours. The *Italian* says, none fouls his hands in his own business; and it is an honest, and just care, so it exceed not bounds, for every one to employ

himself to the advancement of his affairs, that he may have wherewithal to do good. But his family is his best care, to labour Christian souls, and raise them to their height, even to heaven: to dress and prune them, and take as much joy in a straight-growing child, or servant, as a gardener doth in a choice tree. Could men find out this delight, they would seldom be from home; whereas now, of any place they are least there. But if after all this care well dispatched, the housekeeper's family be so small, and his dexterity so great, that he have leisure to look out, the village or parish which either he lives in, or is near unto it, is his employment. He considers every one there, and either helps them in *particular*, or hath *general* propositions to the whole town or hamlet, of advancing the public stock, and managing commons, or woods, according as the place suggests. But if he may be of the commission of peace, there is nothing to that: no commonwealth in the world hath a braver institution than that of justices of the peace: for it is both a security to the king, who hath so many dispersed officers at his beck throughout the kingdom, accountable for the public good; and also an honourable employment of a gentle, or nobleman in the country he lives in, enabling him with power to do good, and to restrain all those, who else might both trouble him and the whole state. Wherefore it behoves all, who are come to the gravity and ripeness of judgment for so excellent a place, not

to refuse, but rather to procure it. And whereas there are usually three objections made against the place; the one, the abuse of it, by taking petty country bribes; the other, the casting of it on mean persons, especially in some shires; and lastly, the trouble of it: these are so far from deterring any good man from the place, that they kindle them rather to redeem the dignity either from true faults, or unjust aspersions. Now, for single men, they are either heirs, or younger brothers: the heirs are to prepare in all the fore-mentioned points against the time of their practice. Therefore they are to mark their father's discretion in ordering his house and affairs; and also elsewhere, when they see any remarkable point of education or good husbandry, and to transplant it in time to his own home, with the same care as others, when they meet with good fruit, get a graft of the tree, enriching their orchard, and neglecting their house. Besides, they are to read books of law and justice; especially the statutes at large. As for better books of divinity, they are not in this consideration, because we are about a calling, and a preparation thereunto. But chiefly, and above all things, they are to frequent sessions and assizes; for it is both an honour which they owe to the reverend judges and magistrates, to attend them at least in their shire; and it is a great advantage to know the practice of the land; for our law is practice. Sometimes he may go to court, as the eminent place both of good and ill.

At other times he is to travel over the king's dominions, cutting out the kingdom into portions, which every year he surveys piece-meal. When there is a parliament, he is to endeavour by all means to be a knight or burgess there; for there is no school to a parliament. And when he is there, he must not only be a morning man, but at committees also; for there the particulars are exactly discussed, which are brought from thence to the house but in general. When none of these occasions call him abroad, every morning that he is at home he must either ride the great horse, or exercise some of his military gestures. For all gentlemen, that are not weakened, and disarmed with sedentary lives, are to know the use of their arms: and as the husbandman labours for them, so must they fight for, and defend them, when occasion calls. This is the duty of each to other, which they ought to fulfill: and the Parson is a lover and exciter to justice in all things, even as *John the Baptist* squared out to every one (even to soldiers) what to do. As for younger brothers, those whom the Parson finds loose, and not engaged into some profession by their parents, whose neglect in this point is intolerable, and a shameful wrong both to the commonwealth, and their own house: to them, after he hath shewed the unlawfulness of spending the day in dressing, complimenting, visiting, and sporting, he first commends the study of the civil law, as a brave, and wise knowledge, the professors

whereof were much employed by *Queen Elizabeth*, because it is the key of *commerce*, and discovers the rules of foreign nations. Secondly, he commends the mathematics, as the only wonder-working knowledge, and therefore requiring the best spirits. After the several knowledge of these, he adviseth to insist and dwell chiefly on the two noble branches thereof, of fortification, and navigation; the one being useful to all countries, and the other especially to islands. But if the young gallant think these courses dull, and phlegmatic, where can he busy himself better than in those new plantations, and discoveries, which are not only a noble, but also as they may be handled, a religious employment? Or let him travel into *Germany* and *France*, and observing the artifices, and manufactures there, transplant them hither, as divers have done lately, to our country's advantage.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

THE PARSON'S LIBRARY.

THE Country Parson's library is a holy life: for besides the blessing that that brings upon it, there being a promise, that if the kingdom of God be first sought, all other things shall be added, even itself is a sermon. For the temptations with which a good man is beset, and the ways which he used to overcome them, being told to another, whether

in private conference, or in the church, are a sermon. He that hath considered how to carry himself at table about his appetite, if he tell this to another, preacheth; and much more feelingly, and judiciously, than he writes his rules of temperance out of books. So that the Parson having studied and mastered all his lusts and affections within, and the whole army of temptations without, hath ever so many sermons ready penned, as he hath victories. And it fares in this as it doth in physic: he that hath been sick of a consumption, and knows what recovered him, is a physician, so far as he meets with the same disease, and temper: and can much better, and particularly do it, than he that is generally learned, and was never sick. And if the same person had been sick of all diseases, and were recovered of all, by things that he knew, there were no such physician as he, both for skill and tenderness. Just so it is in divinity, and that not without manifest reason: for though the temptations may be diverse in divers Christians, yet the victory is alike in all, being by the self-same Spirit. Neither is this true only in the military state of a Christian life, but even in the peaceable also; when the servant of God, freed for a while from temptation, in a quiet sweetness seeks how to please his God. Thus the Parson considering that repentance is the great virtue of the gospel, and one of the first steps of pleasing God, having for his own use examined the nature of it, is able to explain it after

to others. And particularly, having doubted sometimes, whether his repentance were true, or at least in that degree it ought to be, since he found himself sometimes to weep more for the loss of some temporal things than for offending God, he came at length to this resolution, that repentance is an act of the mind, not of the body, even as the original signifies; and that the chief thing which God in Scriptures requires, is the heart, and the spirit, and to worship him in truth, and spirit. Wherefore in case a Christian endeavour to weep, and cannot, since we are not masters of our bodies, this sufficeth. And consequently he found, that the essence of repentance, that it may be alike in all God's children (which as concerning weeping it cannot be, some being of a more melting temper than others) consisteth in a true detestation of the soul, abhorring and renouncing sin, and turning unto God in truth of heart, and newness of life: which acts of repentance are and must be found in all God's servants. Not that weeping is not useful, where it can be, that so the body may join in the grief, as it did in the sin; but that, so the other acts be, that is not necessary: so that he as truly repents who performs the other acts of repentance, when he cannot more, as he that weeps a flood of tears. This instruction and comfort the Parson getting for himself, when he tells it to others, becomes a sermon. The like he doth in other Christian virtues, as of faith, and love, and the cases of

conscience belonging thereto, wherein (as St. Paul implies that he ought, Romans ii.) he first preacheth to himself, and then to others.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

THE PARSON'S DEXTERITY IN APPLYING OF REMEDIES.

THE Country Parson knows, that there is a double state of a Christian, even in this life, the one military, the other peaceable. The military is, when we are assaulted with temptations either from within or from without. The peaceable is, when the devil for a time leaves us, as he did our Saviour, and the angels minister to us their own food, even joy, and peace, and comfort in the Holy Ghost. These two states were in our Saviour, not only in the beginning of his preaching, but afterwards also, as Mat. xxii. 35, he was tempted: and Luke x. 21, he rejoiced in spirit: and they must be likewise in all that are his. Now the Parson having a spiritual judgment, according as he discovers any of his flock to be in one or the other state, so he applies himself to them. Those that he finds in the peaceable state, he adviseth to be very vigilant, and not to let go the reins as soon as the horse goes easy. Particularly, he counselleth them to two things: first, to take heed, lest their quiet betray them (as it is apt to do) to a coldness, and careless-

ness in their devotions, but to labour still to be as fervent in Christian duties, as they remember themselves were, when affliction did blow the coals. Secondly, not to take the full compass and liberty of their peace: not to eat of all those dishes at table, which even their present health otherwise admits; nor to store their house with all those furnitures, which even their present plenty of wealth otherwise admits; nor when they are among them that are merry, to extend themselves to all that mirth, which the present occasion of wit and company otherwise admits: but to put bounds and hoops to their joys: so will they last the longer, and when they depart, return the sooner. If we would judge ourselves, we should not be judged; and if we would bound ourselves, we should not be bounded. But if they shall fear, that at such, or such a time their peace and mirth have carried them further than this moderation, then to take *Job's* admirable course, who sacrificed lest his children should have transgressed in their mirth: so let them go, and find some poor afflicted soul, and there be bountiful, and liberal; for with such sacrifices God is well pleased. Those that the Parson finds in the military state, he fortifies, and strengthens with his utmost skill. Now in those that are tempted, whatsoever is unruly, falls upon two heads; either they think, that there is none that can or will look after things, but all goes by chance, or wit: or else, though there be a great

Governor of all things, yet to them he is lost, as if they said, God doth forsake and persecute them, and there is none to deliver them. If the Parson suspect the first, and find sparks of such thoughts now and then to break forth, then without opposing directly (for disputation is no cure for atheism) he scatters in his discourse three sorts of arguments; the first taken from nature, the second from the law, the third from grace. For nature, he sees not how a house could be either built without a builder, or kept in repair without a housekeeper. He conceives not possibly, how the winds should blow so much as they can, and the sea rage as much as it can, and all things do what they can, and all, not only without dissolution of the whole, but also of any part, by taking away so much as the usual seasons of summer and winter, earing and harvest. Let the weather be what it will, still we have bread, though sometimes more, sometimes less; wherewith also a careful *Joseph* might meet. He conceives not possibly, how he that would believe a Divinity, if he had been at the creation of all things, should less believe it, seeing the preservation of all things: for preservation is a creation: and more, it is a continued creation, and a creation every moment. Secondly, for the law, there may be so evident, though unused a proof of divinity taken from thence, that the atheist, or Epicurean can have nothing to contradict. The Jews yet live and are known: they have their law and language bear-

ing witness to them, and they to it: they are circumcised to this day, and expect the promises of the Scripture; their country also is known, the places, and rivers travelled unto, and frequented by others, but to them an unpenetrable rock, an inaccessible desert. Wherefore if the Jews live, all the great wonders of old live in them, and then who can deny the stretched-out arm of a mighty God? especially since it may be a just doubt, whether, considering the stubbornness of the nation, their living then in their country, under so many miracles were a stranger thing, than their present exile, and disability to live in their country. And it is observable, that this very thing was intended by God, that the Jews should be his proof, and witnesses, as he calls them, Isaiah xliii. 12. And their very dispersion in all lands, was intended not only for a punishment to them; but for an exciting of others by their sight, to the acknowledging of God and his power, Psalm lix. 11. And, therefore, this kind of punishment was chosen rather than any other. Thirdly, for grace. Besides the continual succession (since the gospel) of holy men, who have borne witness to the truth, (there being no reason why any should distrust *St. Luke*, or *Tertullian*, or *Chrysostom*, more than *Tully*, *Virgil*, or *Livy*;) there are two prophecies in the gospel, which evidently argue Christ's divinity by their success: the one concerning the woman that spent the ointment on our Saviour, for which he

told, that it should never be forgotten, but with the gospel itself be preached to all ages, Matthew xxvi. 13. The other concerning the destruction of Jerusalem; of which our Saviour said, that that generation should not pass, till all were fulfilled, Luke xxi. 32. Which Josephus his story confirmeth, and the continuance of which verdict is yet evident. To these might be added the preaching of the gospel in all nations, Matthew xxiv. 14, which we see even miraculously effected in these new discoveries, God turning men's covetousness, and ambitions to the effecting of his word. Now a prophecy is a wonder sent to posterity, lest they complain of want of wonders. It is a letter sealed, and sent, which to the bearer is but paper, but to the receiver, and opener, is full of power. He that saw Christ open a blind man's eyes, saw not more divinity, than he that reads the woman's ointment in the gospel, or sees *Jerusalem* destroyed. With some of these heads enlarged, and woven into his discourse, at several times and occasions, the Parson settleth wavering minds. But if he sees them nearer desperation, than atheism, not so much doubting a God, as that he is theirs; then he dives into the boundless ocean of God's love, and the unspeakable riches of his loving-kindness. He hath one argument unanswerable. If God hate them, either he doth it as they are creatures, dust and ashes; or as they are sinful. As creatures, he must needs love them; for no perfect artist ever

yet hated his own work. As sinful, he must much more love them; because notwithstanding his infinite hate of sin, his love overcame that hate; and with an exceeding great victory; which in the creation needed not, gave them love for love, even the Son of his love out of his bosom of love. So that man, which way soever he turns, hath two pledges of God's love, that in the mouth of two or three witnesses every word may be established; the one in his being, the other in his sinful being: and this as the more faulty in him, so the more glorious in God. And all may certainly conclude, that God loves them, till either they despise that love; or despair of his mercy: not any sin else, but is within his love; but the despising of love must needs be without it. The thrusting away of his arm makes us only not embraced.

CHAPTER XXXV.

THE PARSON'S CONDESCENDING.

THE Country Parson is a lover of old customs, if they be good and harmless; and the rather, because country people are much addicted to them, so that to favour them therein is to win their hearts, and to oppose them therein is to deject them. If there be any ill in the custom, that may be severed from the good, he pares the apple, and gives them the clean to feed on. Particularly he loves pro-

cession, and maintains it, because there are contained therein four manifest advantages: first, a blessing of God for the fruits of the field: secondly, justice in the preservation of bounds: thirdly, charity in loving walking, and neighbourly accompanying one another, with reconciling of differences at that time, if there be any: fourthly, mercy in relieving the poor by a liberal distribution and largess, which at that time is, or ought to be used. Wherefore he exacts of all to be present at the perambulation, and those that withdraw, and sever themselves from it, he mislikes, and reproves as uncharitable and unneighbourly; and if they will not reform, presents them. Nay, he is so far from condemning such assemblies, that he rather procures them to be often, as knowing that absence breeds strangeness, but presence love. Now love is his business and aim; wherefore he likes well, that his parish at good times invite one another to their houses, and he urgeth them to it: and sometimes, where he knows there hath been or is a little difference, he takes one of the parties, and goes with him to the other, and all dine or sup together. There is much preaching in this friendliness. Another old custom there is of saying, when light is brought in, God send us the light of heaven; and the Parson likes this very well: neither is he afraid of praising, or praying to God at all times, but is rather glad of catching opportunities to do them. Light is a great blessing, and as great as food, for

which we give thanks; and those that think this superstitious, neither know superstition nor themselves. As for those that are ashamed to use this form as being old, and obsolete, and not the fashion, he reforms and teaches them, that at baptism they professed not to be ashamed of Christ's cross, or for any shame to leave that which is good. He that is ashamed in small things, will extend his pusillanimity to greater. Rather should a Christian soldier take such occasions to harden himself, and to further his exercises of mortification.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

THE PARSON BLESSING.

THE Country Parson wonders, that blessing the people is in so little use with his brethren: whereas he thinks it not only a grave, and reverend thing, but a beneficial also. Those who use it not; do so either out of niceness, because they like the salutations, and compliments, and forms of worldly language better; which conformity and fashionableness is so exceeding unbefitting a minister, that it deserves reproof, not refutation: or else, because they think it empty and superfluous. But that which the apostles used so diligently in their writings, nay, which our Saviour himself used, Mark x. 16, cannot be vain and superfluous. But this was not proper to Christ, or the apostles only,

no more than to be a spiritual father was appropriated to them. And if temporal fathers bless their children, how much more may, and ought spiritual fathers? Besides, the priests of the Old Testament were commanded to bless the people, and the form thereof is prescribed, Numbers vi. Now as the apostle argues in another case; if the ministration of condemnation did bless, how shall not the ministration of the Spirit exceed in blessing? The fruit of this blessing good *Hannah* found, and received with great joy, 1 Samuel i. 18, though it came from a man disallowed by God: for it was not the person, but priesthood, that blessed; so that even ill priests may bless. Neither have the ministers power of blessing only, but also of cursing. So in the Old Testament, *Elisha* cursed the children, 2 Kings ii. 24, which though our Saviour reproved as unfitting for his particular, who was to show all humility before his passion, yet he allows it in his apostles. And therefore, *St. Peter* used that fearful imprecation to *Simon Magus*, Acts viii., *Thy money perish with thee:* and the event confirmed it: so did *St. Paul*, 2 Timothy iv. 14, and 1 Timothy i. 20. Speaking of *Alexander* the coppersmith, who had withstood his preaching, *The Lord* (saith he) *reward him according to his works.* And again, of *Hymeneus* and *Alexander*, he saith, he had *delivered them to Satan, that they might learn not to blaspheme.* The forms both of blessing, and cursing, are expounded in the

Common Prayer Book: the one in, The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, &c. and, The peace of God, &c. The other in general, in the Commination. Now blessing differs from prayer, in assurance, because it is not performed by way of request, but of confidence, and power, effectually applying God's favour to the blessed, by the interesting of that dignity wherewith God hath invested the Priest, and engaging of God's own power and institution for a blessing. The neglect of this duty in ministers themselves hath made the people also neglect it; so that they are so far from craving this benefit from their ghostly father, that they oftentimes go out of church before he hath blessed them. In the time of popery, the priest's *Benedicite* and his holy water were over highly valued; and now we are fallen to the clean contrary, even from superstition to coldness and atheism. But the Parson first values the gift in himself, and then teacheth his parish to value it. And it is observable, that if a minister talk with a great man in the ordinary course of complimenting language, he shall be esteemed as ordinary complimenters; but if he often interpose a blessing, when the other gives him just opportunity, by speaking any good, this unusual form begets a reverence, and makes him esteemed according to his profession. The same is to be observed in writing letters also. To conclude, if all men are to bless upon occasion, as appears Romans xii. 14, how much more those who are spiritual fathers?

CHAPTER XXXVII.

CONCERNING DETRACTION.

THE Country Parson perceiving, that most, when they are at leisure, make others' faults their entertainment and discourse, and that even some good men think, so they speak truth, they may disclose another's fault, finds it somewhat difficult how to proceed in this point. For if he absolutely shut up men's mouths, and forbid all disclosing of faults, many an evil may not only be, but also spread in his parish, without any remedy (which cannot be applied without notice) to the dishonour of God, and the infection of his flock, and the discomfort, discredit and hindrance of the Pastor. On the other side, if it be unlawful to open faults, no benefit or advantage can make it lawful; for we must not do evil, that good may come of it. Now the Parson taking this point to task, which is so exceeding useful, and hath taken so deep root, that it seems the very life and substance of conversation, hath proceeded thus far in the discussing of it. Faults are either notorious or private. Again, notorious faults are either such as are made known by common fame (and of these, those that know them may talk, so they do it not with sport, but commiseration;) or else such as have passed judgment, and been corrected either by whipping, or

imprisoning, or the like. Of these also men may talk, and more, they may discover them to those that know them not; because infamy is a part of the sentence against malefactors, which the law intends, as is evident by those which are branded for rogues, that they may be known, or put into the stocks, that they may be looked upon. But some may say, though the law allow this, the Gospel doth not, which hath so much advanced charity, and ranked backbiters among the generation of the wicked, Romans i. 30. But this is easily answered: as the executioner is not uncharitable, that takes away the life of the condemned, except, besides his office, he add a tincture of private malice, in the joy and haste of acting his part; so neither is he that defames him whom the law would have defamed, except he also do it out of rancour. For in infamy, all are executioners, and the law gives a malefactor to all to be defamed. And as malefactors may lose and forfeit their goods or life, so may they their good name, and the possession thereof, which before their offence and judgment they had in all men's breasts; for all are honest till the contrary be proved. Besides, it concerns the commonwealth that rogues should be known, and charity to the public hath the precedence of private charity. So that it is so far from being a fault to discover such offenders, that it is a duty rather, which may do much good, and save much harm. Nevertheless, if the punished delinquent shall be much

troubled for his sins, and turn quite another man, doubtless then also men's affections and words must turn, and forbear to speak of that which even God himself hath forgotten.

THE AUTHOR'S PRAYER BEFORE SERMON.

O ALMIGHTY and ever living Lord God! Majesty, and Power, and Brightness, and Glory! How shall we dare to appear before thy face, who are contrary to thee, in all we call thee? for we are darkness, and weakness, and filthiness, and shame. Misery and sin fill our days; yet art thou our Creator, and we thy work. Thy hands both made us, and also made us lords of all thy creatures; giving us one world in ourselves, and another to serve us: then didst thou place us in paradise, and wert proceeding still on in thy favours, until we interrupted thy counsels, disappointed thy purposes, and sold our God, our glorious, our gracious God for an apple. O write it! O brand it in our foreheads for ever: for an apple once we lost our God, and still lose him for no more; for money, for meat, for diet: but thou, Lord, art patience, and pity, and sweetness, and love; therefore we sons of men are not consumed. Thou hast exalted thy mercy above all things, and hast made our salvation, not our punishment, thy glory: so that

then where sin abounded, not death, but grace superabounded; accordingly when we had sinned beyond any help in heaven or earth, then thou saidst, Lo, I come! then did the Lord of life, unable of himself to die, contrive to do it. He took flesh, he wept, he died; for his enemies he died; even for those that derided him then, and still despise him. Blessed Saviour! many waters could not quench thy love, nor no pit overwhelm it! But though the streams of thy blood were current through darkness, grave, and hell, yet by these thy conflicts, and seemingly hazards, didst thou arise triumphant, and therein madest us victorious.

Neither doth thy love yet stay here! for this word of thy rich peace and reconciliation thou hast committed, not to thunder or angels, but to silly and sinful men; even to me, pardoning my sins, and bidding me go feed the people of thy love.

Blessed be the God of heaven and earth, who only doth wondrous things. Awake, therefore, my lute and my viol! awake all my powers to glorify thee! We praise thee, we bless thee, we magnify thee for ever! And now, O Lord, in the power of thy victories, and in the ways of thy ordinances, and in the truth of thy love, lo, we stand here, beseeching thee to bless thy word, wherever spoken this day throughout the universal church. O make it a word of power and peace, to convert those who are not yet thine, and to con-

firm those that are; particularly, bless it in this thy own kingdom, which thou hast made a land of light, a storehouse of thy treasures and mercies. O let not our foolish and unworthy hearts rob us of the continuance of this thy sweet love; but pardon our sins, and perfect what thou hast begun. Ride on, Lord, because of the word of truth, and meekness, and righteousness, and thy right hand shall teach thee terrible things. Especially, bless this portion here assembled together, with thy unworthy servant speaking unto them: Lord Jesu! teach thou me, that I may teach them: sanctify and enable all my powers, that in their full strength they may deliver thy message reverently, readily, faithfully, and fruitfully! O make thy word a swift word, passing from the ear to the heart, from the heart to the life and conversation: that as the rain returns not empty, so neither may thy word, but accomplish that for which it is given. O Lord, hear! O Lord, forgive! O Lord, hearken, and do so for thy blessed Son's sake, in whose sweet and pleasing words, we say, *Our Father, &c.*

PRAYER AFTER SERMON.

BLESSED be God, and the Father of all mercy, who continueth to pour his benefits upon us! Thou hast elected us, thou hast called us, thou hast justified us, sanctified, and glorified us; thou wast

born for us, and thou livedst and diedst for us: thou hast given us the blessings of this life, and of a better. O Lord, thy blessings hang in clusters, they come trooping upon us! they break forth like mighty waters on every side. And now, Lord, thou hast fed us with the bread of life; so man did eat angels' food. O Lord, bless it; O Lord, make it health and strength unto us, still striving and prospering so long within us, until our obedience reach thy measure of thy love, who hast done for us as much as may be. Grant this, dear Father, for thy Son's sake, our only Saviour; to whom with thee and the Holy Ghost, three persons, but one most glorious, incomprehensible God, be ascribed all honour, and glory, and praise, ever. Amen.

PREFACE AND NOTES, BY GEORGE HERBERT,

TO THE DIVINE CONSIDERATIONS,

TREATING OF THOSE THINGS WHICH ARE MOST PROFITABLE,
MOST NECESSARY, AND MOST PERFECT
IN OUR CHRISTIAN PROFESSION,
BY JOHN VALDESSO.*

MR. G. HERBERT TO MASTER N[ICHOLAS] F[ARRER,]

UPON HIS TRANSLATION OF VALDESSO.

MY dear and deserving Brother, your Valdesso I now return with many thanks, and some notes, in which, perhaps, you will discover some care, which I forbear not in the midst of my griefs; first, for your sake, because I would do nothing negligently that you commit unto me; secondly, for the author's sake, whom I conceive to have been a true servant of God, and to such, and all that is theirs, I owe diligence; thirdly, for the church's sake, to whom by printing it, I would have you consecrate it. You owe the church a debt, and God hath put this into your hands (as he sent the fish with money to Saint Peter), to discharge it; happily also with this (as his thoughts are fruitful), in-

* Printed at Cambridge, 1646.

tending the honour of his servant the author, who being obscured in his own country, he would have to flourish in this land of light and region of the Gospel, among his chosen. It is true there are some things which I like not in him, as my fragments will express, when you read them; nevertheless I wish you by all means to publish it, for these three eminent things observable therein: first, that God in the midst of popery should open the eyes of one to understand and express so clearly and excellently the intent of the Gospel, in the acceptation of Christ's righteousness (as he showeth through all his Considerations), a thing strangely buried and darkened by the adversaries and their great stumbling-block. Secondly, the great honour and reverence, which he every where bears towards our dear Master and Lord, concluding every Consideration almost with his holy name, and setting his merit forth so piously; for which I do so love him, that were there nothing else, I would print it, that with it the honour of my Lord might be published. Thirdly, the many pious rules of ordering our life, about mortification, and observation of God's kingdom within us, and the working thereof, of which he was a very diligent observer. These three things are very eminent in the author, and overweigh the defects, as I conceive, towards the publishing thereof.

From Bemmerton, near Salisbury,
Septemb. 29, 1632.

NOTES TO THE DIVINE CONSIDERATIONS.

Page 33.

HE often useth this manner of speech, believing by Revelation, whereby I understand he meaneth only the effectual operation or illumination of the Holy Spirit, testifying and applying the revealed truth of the Gospel, and not any private enthusiasms or revelations: as if he should say, A general apprehension, or assent to the promises of the Gospel, by hearsay or relation from others, is not that which filleth the heart with joy and peace in believing, but the Spirit's bearing witness with our spirit, revealing and applying the general promises to every one in particular, with such sincerity and efficacy, that it makes him godly, righteous, and sober all his life long. This I call believing by Revelation, and not by relation.

Valdesso, in the passage to which this note is attached, considers the state of that man who, though hard of belief, and difficult to be persuaded, has at length been awakened to the truths of the Gospel, as infinitely preferable to the hasty faith which the man who is easily persuaded to adopt any opinion, is too often induced to yield to the promises of the Gospel. The former, as having resigned his prejudices to the force

of truth, is said to believe by Revelation; whereas the latter, as having yielded to the Gospel the same weak assent which any other doctrines equally might have drawn from him, is said to believe by relation, by human persuasion and the opinion of mankind.

Page 107.

I much mislike the comparison of Images and Holy Scriptures, as if they were both but alphabets, and after a time to be left. The Holy Scriptures have not only an elementary use, but a use of perfection; neither can they ever be exhausted (as pictures may by a plenary circumspection), but still, even to the most learned and perfect in them, there is somewhat to be learned more: therefore David desireth God, in the 119th Psalm, to open his eyes, that he might see the wondrous things of his law, and that he would make them his study; although, by other words of the same psalm, it is evident that he was not meanly conversant in them. Indeed, he that shall so attend to the back of the letter as to neglect the consideration of God's work in his heart through the word, doth amiss; both are to be done: the Scriptures still used, and God's work within us still observed, who works by his word, and ever in the reading of it. As for that text, They shall be all taught of God, it being Scripture, cannot be spoken to the disparagement of Scripture; but the meaning is this, that God in

the days of the Gospel will not give an outward law of ceremonies as of old, but such a one as shall still have the assistance of the Holy Spirit applying it to our hearts, and ever outrunning the teacher, as it did when Peter taught Cornelius. There the case is plain: Cornelius had revelation, yet Peter was to be sent for; and those that have inspirations must still use Peter, God's word: if we make another sense of the text, we shall overthrow all means save catechizing, and set up enthusiasms.

In the Scriptures are

Doctrines, these ever teach more and more.
Promises, these ever comfort more and more.
Rom. xv. 4.

In this note Herbert justly objects to a very quaint and far-fetched comparison which the author draws between the Books of Holy Scripture and the Images of the Roman Catholic Church. As the unlearned are fond of placing pictorial images in different situations, in order that the objects of their belief might never be absent from their minds, so the learned delight to heap up copies of the Holy Scriptures, with notes, comments, and explanations of wise men, that they may be furnished with every information which they may desire on the subject of the Christian faith. But, in both cases alike, those who are not endued with the true inspiration of the Spirit, confine themselves to the study of these

their first rudiments, whereas the truly pious, who are guided by the Spirit of God, look upon Scripture in one case and Images in the other, as but the alphabet as it were of Christianity, and to be cast aside, after they have once obtained the revelation and grace of God. This comparison, as being incomplete, and in fact leading to dangerous doctrines, Herbert very properly impugns.

Page 109.

The doctrine of this Consideration cleareth that of the former; for as the servant leaves not the letter when he hath read it, but keeps it by him, and reads it again and again, and the more the promise is delayed the more he reads it, and fortifies himself with it, so are we to do with the Scriptures, and this is the use of the promises of the Scriptures. But the use of the doctrinal part is more, in regard it presents us not with the same thing only when it is read, as the promises do, but enlightens us with new considerations the more we read it. Much more might be said, but this sufficeth. He himself allows it for a holy conversation and refreshment in the 32nd Consideration; and amongst all divine and spiritual exercises and duties, he nameth the reading and meditation of Holy Scripture for the first and principal, as Consid. 47, and others; so that it is plain the author had a very reverend esteem of the Holy Scripture,

especially considering the time and place where he lived.

That Valdesso did not undervalue the Scriptures, notwithstanding the remarks alluded to in Herbert's last note, is evident from the passage to which this present note refers. In it the Scriptures are said to be to us as a letter would be to a servant from his lord, which is treasured up by him as containing promises of high and unusual favours, certain in the end to be fulfilled, although slow in coming.

PAGE 122.

All the discourse from this place to the end of the chapter may seem strange, but it is suitable to what the author holds elsewhere; for he maintains that it is faith and infidelity that shall judge us now since the Gospel, and that no other sin or virtue hath any thing to do with us; if we believe, no sin shall hurt us; if we believe not, no virtue shall help us. Therefore he saith here, we shall not be punished for evil doing, nor rewarded for well doing or living, for all the point lies in believing or not believing. And with this exposition the chapter is clear enough; but the truth of the doctrine would be examined, however it may pass for his opinion, in the church of God there is one fundamental, but else variety. The author's good meaning in this will better appear by his 98th Consideration of faith and good works.

The arguments of the author in this place on the "Christian Liberty" may be correctly explained as Herbert has in this note explained them. It may, however, be questioned whether his language is not a little too obscure, so much so, indeed, that a hasty perusal of the chapter might lead those, who were predisposed to such an inference, to imagine that Valdesso had fallen into the grievous heresy which once led so many men astray in our own country, that even sins might be committed with impunity, and were not in fact sinful, when a man was once a member of the invisible church of Christ, and justified by faith.

PAGE 155.

He meaneth (I suppose) that a man presume not to merit, that is, to oblige God, or justify himself before God, by any acts or exercises of religion; but that he ought to pray God affectionately and fervently, to send him the light of his Spirit, which may be unto him as the sun to a traveller in his journey; he in the meanwhile applying himself to the unquestioned duties of true piety and sincere religion, such as are prayer, fasting, alms-deeds, &c. after the example of devout Cornelius. Or thus: there are two sorts of acts in religion, acts of humiliation and acts of confidence and joy: the person here described to be in the dark ought to use the first, and to forbear the second. Of the first sort are repentance, prayers, fasting, alms,

mortifications, &c.; of the second, receiving of the communion, praises, psalms, &c. These in divers cases ought, and were of old forborne for a time.

This note almost explains itself: in the text, to which it refers, the spirit of God is described as gradually shedding its light upon the mind, in the same manner as the sun breaks by degrees upon the eyes of a traveller in the dark.

PAGE 174.

In indifferent things there is room for motions, and expecting of them; but in things good, as to relieve my neighbour, God hath already revealed his will about it: therefore we ought to proceed, except there be a restraining motion, (as St. Paul had) when he would have preached in Asia. And I conceive that restraining motions are much more frequent to the godly than inviting motions, because the Scripture invites enough, for it invites us to all good. According to that singular place, Phil. iv. 8, a man is to embrace all good; but because he cannot do all, God often chooseth which he shall do, and that by restraining him from what he would not have him do.

The author in this place is speaking of motions communicated by the Spirit, either to do or to refrain from doing certain actions. Herbert's note explains his sentiments on that subject.

Page 177.

This doctrine, howsoever it is true in substance, yet it requireth discreet and wary explaining.

The doctrine that bad men, such as Pharaoh, Judas, and other vessels of wrath, only fulfilled parts appointed to them by God, and could not be otherwise than what they were.

Page 199.

By renouncing the help of human learning in the studying to understand Holy Scripture, he meaneth that we should not use it as the only or as the principal means, because the anointing which we have received and abideth in us teacheth us. 1 John ii. 27.

The author speaks of human learning as insufficient to guide a man to the knowledge of the truth. Herbert's note explains itself.

Page 217.

This chapter is considerable. The intent of it, that the world pierceth not godly men's actions no more than God's, is in some sort true, because they are spiritually discerned; 1 Cor. ii. 14. So likewise are the godly in some sort exempt from laws, for the law is not made for a righteous man; 1 Tim. i. 9. But when he enlargeth he goes too far: for first, concerning Abraham and Sarah, I ever took that for a weakness in the great patri-

arch, and that the best of God's servants should have weaknesses, is no way repugnant to the way of God's spirit in them, or to the Scripture, or to themselves, being still men, though godly men. Nay, they are purposely recorded in Holy Writ. Wherefore, as David's adultery cannot be excused, so need not Abraham's equivocation, nor Paul's neither, when he professed himself a Pharisee, which strictly he was not, though in the point of resurrection he agreed with them and they with him. The reviling also of Ananias seems by his own recalling, an oversight; yet I remember the fathers forbid us to judge of the doubtful actions of saints in Scripture, which is a modest admonition. But it is one thing not to judge, another to defend them. Secondly, when he useth the word jurisdiction, allowing no jurisdiction over the godly, this cannot stand, and it is ill doctrine in a commonwealth. The godly are punishable as others when they do amiss, and they are to be judged according to the outward fact, unless it be evident to others as well as to themselves that God moved them; for otherwise any malefactor may pretend motions, which is insufferable in a commonwealth. Neither do I doubt but if Abraham had lived in our kingdom under government, and had killed his son Isaac, but he might justly have been put to death for it by the magistrate, unless he could have made it appear that it was done by God's immediate precept. He had done justly, and yet had

been punished justly, that is, *In humano foro, &c. secundum præsumptionem legalem:* according to the common and legal proceedings among men. So may a war be just on both sides, and was just in the Canaanites and Israelites both. How the godly are exempt from laws is a known point among divines; but when he says they are equally exempt with God, that is dangerous and too far. The best salve for the whole chapter is to distinguish judgment. There is a judgment of authority (upon a fact), and there is a judgment of the learned; for as a magistrate judgeth in his tribunal, so a scholar judgeth in his study, and censureth this or that; whence come so many books of several men's opinions: perhaps he meant all of this latter, not of the former. Worldly learned men cannot judge spiritual men's actions; but the magistrate may, and surely this the author meant by the word jurisdiction, for so he useth the same word in Consideration 68 *ad finem.*

The 62nd Consideration treats of the dangerous and useless question, how far saints are exempt from human law, laying down at the same time a position, equally untenable in its full extent, that men have neither right nor ability to judge of those things which the holy men recorded in Scripture have done, contrary to human law. The note before us was penned by Herbert to qualify and restrict this doctrine.

Page 220.

The author doth still discover too slight a regard of the Scripture, as if it were but children's meat, whereas there is not only milk there, but strong meat also, Heb. v. 14; things hard to be understood, 2 Pet. iii. 16; things needing great consideration, Matt. xxiv. 15. Besides, he opposeth the teaching of the Spirit to the teaching of Scripture which the Holy Spirit wrote. Although the Holy Spirit apply the Scripture, yet what the Scripture teacheth the Spirit teacheth; the Holy Spirit, indeed, some time doubly teaching, both in penning and in applying. I wonder how this opinion could befall so good a man as it seems Valdesso was, since the saints of God in all ages have ever held in so precious esteem the word of God, as their joy and crown, and their treasure on earth. Yet his own practice seems to confute his opinion; for the most of his Considerations, being grounded upon some text of Scripture, shows that he was continually conversant in it, and not used it for a time only, and then cast it away, as he says, strangely. There is no more to be said of this chapter, especially of the fifth thing in it, but that this his opinion of the Scripture is insufferable. As for the text of St. Peter, 2 Pet. i. 19, which he makes the ground of this Consideration, building it all upon the word Until the day-star arise; it is nothing. How many places do the fathers bring about

Until against the heretics who disputed against the virginity of the Blessed Virgin, out of the text, Matt. i. 25; where it is said, Joseph knew her not Until she had brought forth her firstborn son, as if afterwards he had known her; and indeed, in common sense, if I bid a man stay in a place until I come, I do not then bid him go away, but rather stay longer, that I may speak with him or do something else when I come. So St. Peter bidding the dispersed Hebrews attend to the word till the day dawn, doth not bid them then cast away the word, or leave it off; but, however, he would have them attend to it till that time, and then afterward they will of themselves attend it without his exhortation. Nay, it is observable that in that very place he prefers the word before the sight of the transfiguration of Christ. So that the word hath the precedence even of Revelation and Visions.

In the 63rd Consideration Valdesso attempts to show, "by seven conformities, that the Holy Scripture is like a candle in a dark place, and that the Holy Spirit is like the sunne:" in this showing that slight regard for Scripture with which Herbert charges him in the note before us.

Page 239.

Divines hold that justifying faith and the faith of miracles are divers gifts, and of a different nature; the one being *gratia gratis data*, the other *gratia gratum faciens*, this being given only to the

godly, and the other sometimes to the wicked: yet doubtless the best faith in us is defective, and arrives not to the point it should, which if it did, it would do more than it does. And miracle-working, as it may be severed from justifying faith, so it may be a fruit of it, and an exaltation. 1 John v. 14.

This note is appended to the 69th Consideration, that all men, bearing in mind the faith to work miracles, with which some have been endued, should always judge their own faith incomplete; and, secondly, that their faith is always to be measured by their knowledge of God and Christ.

PAGE 247.

Though this were the author's opinion, yet the truth of it would be examined. The 98th Consideration, about being justified by faith or by good works, or condemned for unbelief or evil works, make plain the author's meaning.

The author in this place alludes briefly to the imputed merits of Christ, apparently as if they entirely superseded human virtue, and rendered it unnecessary. Herbert refers to the 98th Consideration *to explain this apparent inconsistency.*

PAGE 270.

By the saints of the world he everywhere understands the cunning hypocrite, who by the world is

counted a very saint for his outward show of holiness; and we meet with two sorts of these saints of the world: one whose holiness consists in a few ceremonies and superstitious observations; the others in a zeal against these, and in a strict performance of a few cheap and easy duties of religion with no less superstition; both of them having forms or vizors of godliness, but denying the power thereof.

This note merely explains a term, "Saints of the world," which Valdesso employs in the Consideration to which the note is attached.

Page 354.

Though this be the author's opinion, yet the truth of it would be examined. The 98th Consideration, about being justified by faith or by good works, or condemned for unbelief or evil works, make plain the author's meaning.

Herbert here repeats a note which he had attached to a previous passage. He again alludes to the same doctrine, qualifying it by a reference to a future Consideration.

By Hebrew piety he meaneth not the very ceremonies of the Jews, which no Christian observes now, but an analogate observation of ecclesiastical and canonical laws superinduced to the Scriptures, like to that of the Jews, which they added to their divine law; this being well weighed will make the

Consideration easy and very observable: for at least some of the Papists are come now to what the Pharisees were come to in our Saviour's time.

This note is written to explain the term Hebrew piety, and in no other way refers to the text of Valdesso.

PAGE 355.

This is true only of the Popish cases of conscience, which depend almost wholly on their canon law and decretals, knots of their own tying and untying; but there are other cases of conscience, grounded on piety and morality, and the difficulty of applying their general rules to particular actions, which are a most noble study.

Herbert here qualifies another statement of Valdesso, which would seem to confound the cases of conscience, which the Romanists were so fond of framing, with others which often arise in the bosoms of good men, and are founded on a regard to piety and morality.

A

TREATISE OF TEMPERANCE AND SOBRIETY.

WRITTEN BY

LUD. CORNARUS, TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISH BY MR. GEORGE HERBERT.

HAVING observed in my time many of my friends, of excellent wit and noble disposition, overthrown and undone by intemperance; who, if they had lived, would have been an ornament to the world, and a comfort to their friends: I thought fit to discover in a short treatise, that intemperance was not such an evil, but it might easily be remedied; which I undertake the more willingly, because divers worthy young men have obliged me unto it. For when they saw their parents and kindred snatched away in the midst of their days, and me, contrariwise, at the age of eighty and one, strong and lusty; they had a great desire to know the way of my life, and how I came to be so. Wherefore, that I may satisfy their honest desire, and withal help many others, who will take this into consideration, I will declare the causes which moved me to forsake intemperance, and live a sober life, expressing also the means which I have used there-

in. I say therefore, that the infirmities, which did not only begin, but had already gone far in me, first caused me to leave intemperance, to which I was much addicted: for by it, and my ill constitution (having a most cold and moist stomach), I fell into divers diseases, to wit, into the pain of the stomach, and often of the side, and the beginning of the gout, with almost a continual fever and thirst.

From this ill temper there remained little else to be expected of me, than that after many troubles and griefs I should quickly come to an end; whereas my life seemed as far from it by nature, as it was near it by intemperance. When therefore I was thus affected from the thirty-fifth year of my age to the fortieth, having tried all remedies fruitlessly, the physicians told me that yet there was one help for me, if I could constantly pursue it, to wit, *A sober and orderly life:* for this had every way great force for the recovering and preserving of health, as a disorderly life to the overthrowing of it; as I too well by experience found. For temperance preserves even old men and sickly men sound: but intemperance destroys most healthy and flourishing constitutions: for contrary causes have contrary effects, and the faults of nature are often amended by art, as barren grounds are made fruitful by good husbandry. They added withal, that unless I speedily used that remedy, within a few months I should be driven to that exigent,

that there would be no help for me, but death shortly to be expected.

Upon this, weighing their reasons with myself, and abhorring from so sudden an end, and finding myself continually oppressed with pain and sickness, I grew fully persuaded, that all my griefs arose out of intemperance: and therefore out of a hope of avoiding death and pain, I resolved to live a temperate life.

Whereupon, being directed by them in the way I ought to hold, I understood, that the food I was to use, was such as belonged to sickly constitutions, and that in a small quantity. This they had told me before: but I, then not liking that kind of diet, followed my appetite, and did eat meats pleasing to my taste; and when I felt inward heats, drank delightful wines, and that in great quantity, telling my physicians nothing thereof, as is the custom of sick people. But after I had resolved to follow temperance and reason, and saw that it was no hard thing to do so, but the proper duty of man; I so addicted myself to this course of life, that I never went a foot out of the way. Upon this, I found within a few days, that I was exceedingly helped, and by continuance thereof, within less than one year (although it may seem to some incredible), I was perfectly cured of all my infirmities.

Being now sound and well, I began to consider the force of temperance, and to think thus with myself: If temperance had so much power as to

bring me health; how much more to preserve it! Wherefore I began to search out most diligently what meats were agreeable unto me, and what disagreeable: and I purposed to try, whether those that pleased my taste brought me commodity or discommodity; and whether that proverb, wherewith gluttons use to defend themselves, to wit, *That which savours, is good and nourisheth*, be consonant to truth. This upon trial I found most false: for strong and very cool wines pleased my taste best, as also melons, and other fruit; in like manner, raw lettuce, fish, pork, sausages, pulse, and cake, and pie-crust, and the like: and yet all these I found hurtful.

Therefore trusting on experience, I forsook all these kind of meats and drinks, and chose that wine that fitted my stomach, and in such measure, as easily might be digested: above all, taking care never to rise with a full stomach, but so as I might well both eat and drink more. By this means, within less than a year I was not only freed from all those evils which had so long beset me, and were almost become incurable; but also afterwards I fell not into that yearly disease, whereinto I was wont, when I pleased my sense and appetite. Which benefits also still continue, because from the time that I was made whole, I never since departed from my settled course of sobriety, whose admirable power causeth that the meat and drink that is taken in fit measure, gives true strength to

the body, all superfluities passing away without difficulty, and no ill humours being engendered in the body.

Yet with this diet I avoided other hurtful things also, as too much heat and cold, weariness, watching, ill air, overmuch use of the benefit of marriage. For although the power of health consists most in the proportion of meat and drink, yet these forenamed things have also their force. I preserved me also, as much as I could, from hatred and melancholy, and other perturbations of the mind, which have a great power over our constitutions. Yet could I not so avoid all these, but that now and then I fell into them, which gained me this experience, that I perceived that they had no great power to hurt those bodies which were kept in good order by a moderate diet: so that I can truly say, that they who in these two things that enter in at the mouth keep a fit proportion, shall receive little hurt from other excesses.

This *Galen* confirms, when he says, that immoderate heats and colds, and winds and labours, did little hurt him, because in his meats and drinks he kept a due moderation, and therefore never was sick by any of these inconveniences, except it were for one only day. But mine own experience confirmeth this more, as all that know me can testify; for having endured many heats and colds, and other like discommodities of the body and troubles of the mind, all these did hurt me little, whereas

they hurt them very much who live intemperately. For when my brother and others of my kindred saw some great powerful men pick quarrels against me, fearing lest I should be overthrown, they were possessed with a deep melancholy (a thing usual to disorderly lives), which increased so much in them, that it brought them to a sudden end; but I, whom that matter ought to have affected most, received no inconvenience thereby, because that humour abounded not in me.

Nay, I began to persuade myself, that this suit and contention was raised by the Divine Providence, that I might know what great power a sober and temperate life hath over our bodies and minds, and that at length I should be a conqueror, as also a little after it came to pass; for in the end I got the victory, to my great honour and no less profit, whereupon also I joyed exceedingly, which excess of joy neither could do me any hurt; by which it is manifest, that neither melancholy nor any other passion can hurt a temperate life.

Moreover, I say, that even bruises, and squats, and falls, which often kill others, can bring little grief or hurt to those that are temperate. This I found by experience, when I was seventy years old; for riding in a coach in great haste, it happened that the coach was overturned, and then was dragged for a good space by the fury of the horses, whereby my head and whole body was sore hurt, and also one of my arms and legs put out of joint.

Being carried home, when the physicians saw in what case I was, they concluded that I would die within three days: nevertheless, at a venture, two remedies might be used, letting of blood and purging, that the store of humours and inflammation and fever (which was certainly expected) might be hindered.

But I, considering what an orderly life I had led for many years together, which must needs so temper the humours of the body, that they could not be much troubled, or make a great concourse, refused both remedies, and only commanded that my arm and leg should be set, and my whole body anointed with oil; and so without other remedy or inconvenience I recovered, which seemed as a miracle to the physicians; whence I conclude, that they that live a temperate life can receive little hurt from other inconveniences.

But my experience taught me another thing also, to wit, that an orderly and regular life can hardly be altered without exceeding great danger.

About four years since, I was led, by the advice of physicians, and the daily importunity of my friends, to add something to my usual stint and measure. Divers reasons they brought, as, that old age could not be sustained with so little meat and drink; which yet needs not only to be sustained, but also to gather strength, which could not be but by meat and drink. On the other side, I argued that nature was contented with a little, and that I

had for many years continued in good health with that little measure; that custom was turned into nature, and therefore it was agreeable to reason, that my years increasing and strength decreasing, my stint of meat and drink should be diminished rather than increased, that the patient might be proportionable to the agent, and especially since the power of my stomach every day decreased. To this agreed two Italian proverbs, the one whereof was, * *He that will eat much, let him eat little;* because by eating little he prolongs his life. The other proverb was, † *The meat which remaineth profits more than that which is eaten;* by which is intimated, that the hurt of too much meat is greater than the commodity of meat taken in a moderate proportion.

But all these things could not defend me against their importunities. Therefore, to avoid obstinacy and gratify my friends, at length I yielded, and permitted the quantity of meat to be increased, yet but two ounces only: for whereas before, the measure of my whole day's meat, viz. of my bread, and eggs, and flesh, and broth, was twelve ounces exactly weighed, I increased it to the quantity of two ounces more; and the measure of my drink,

* Mangierà più chi manco mangia. Ed e' contrario,
Chi più mangia, manco mangia. Il senso è
Poco vive chi troppo sparechia.

† Fa più pro quel' che si lascia sul' tondo, che
Quel' che si mette nel ventre.

which before was fourteen ounces, I made now sixteen.

This addition, after ten days, wrought so much upon me, that of a cheerful and merry man I became melancholy and choleric, so that all things were troublesome to me; neither did I know well what I did or said. On the twelfth day, a pain of the side took me, which held me two and twenty hours. Upon the neck of it came a terrible fever, which continued thirty-five days and nights, although after the fifteenth day it grew less and less; besides all this I could not sleep, no, not a quarter of an hour, whereupon all gave me for dead.

Nevertheless I, by the grace of God, cured myself only with returning to my former course of diet, although I was now seventy-eight years old, and my body spent with extreme leanness, and the season of the year was winter, and most cold air; and I am confident that, under God, nothing holp me, but that exact rule which I had so long continued: in all which time I felt no grief, save now and then a little indisposition for a day or two.

For the temperance of so many years spent all ill humours, and suffered not any new of that kind to arise, neither the good humours to be corrupted or contract any ill quality, as usually happens in old men's bodies, which live without rule; for there is no malignity of old age in the humours of my body, which commonly kills men, and that new

one which I contracted by breaking my diet, although it was a sore evil, yet had no power to kill me.

By this it may clearly be perceived how great is the power of order and disorder; whereof the one kept me well for many years, the other, though it was but a little excess, in a few days had so soon overthrown me. If the world consist of order, if our corporal life depend on the harmony of humours and elements, it is no wonder that order should preserve, and disorder destroy. Order makes arts easy, and armies victorious, and retains and confirms kingdoms, cities, and families in peace. Whence I conclude, that an orderly life is the most sure way and ground of health and long days, and the true and only medicine of many diseases.

Neither can any man deny this who will narrowly consider it. Hence it comes, that a physician, when he cometh to visit his patient, prescribes this physic first, that he use a moderate diet; and when he hath cured him, commends this also to him, if he will live in health. Neither is it to be doubted, but that he shall ever after live free from diseases, if he will keep such a course of life; because this will cut off all causes of diseases, so that he shall need neither physic nor physician: yea, if he will give his mind to those things which he should, he will prove himself a physician, and that a very complete one; for indeed no man can be a perfect physician to another, but to himself only.

The reason whereof is this: every one by long experience may know the qualities of his own nature, and what hidden properties it hath, what meat and drink agrees best with it; which things in others cannot be known without such observation as is not easily to be made upon others, especially since there is a greater diversity of tempers than of faces. Who would believe that old wine should hurt my stomach, and new should help it, or that cinnamon should heat me more than pepper? What physician could have discovered these hidden qualities to me, if I had not found them out by long experience? wherefore one to another cannot be a perfect physician. Whereupon I conclude, since none can have a better physician than himself, nor better physic than a temperate life, temperance by all means is to be embraced.

Nevertheless, I deny not but that physicians are necessary, and greatly to be esteemed for the knowing and curing of diseases, into which they often fall who live disorderly; for if a friend who visits thee in thy sickness, and only comforts and condoles, doth perform an acceptable thing to thee, how much more dearly should a physician be esteemed, who not only as a friend doth visit thee, but help thee!

But that a man may preserve himself in health, I advise, that instead of a physician a regular life is to be embraced, which, as is manifest by experience, is a natural physic most agreeable to us,

and also doth preserve even ill tempers in good health, and procure that they prolong their life even to a hundred years and more, and that at length they shut up their days like a lamp, only by a pure consumption of the radical moisture, without grief or perturbation of humours. Many have thought that this could be done by *Aurum potabile*, or the *Philosopher's stone*, sought of many, and found of few; but surely there is no such matter, if temperance be wanting.

But sensual men (as most are), desiring to satisfy their appetite and pamper their belly, although they see themselves ill handled by their intemperance, yet shun a sober life; because, they say, It is better to please the appetite (though they live ten years less than otherwise they should do) than always to live under bit and bridle. But they consider not of how great moment ten years are in mature age, wherein wisdom and all kind of virtues is most vigorous; which, but in that age, can hardly be perfected. And that I may say nothing of other things, are not almost all the learned books that we have, written by their authors in that age, and those ten years which they set at nought in regard of their belly?

Besides, these belly-gods say, that an orderly life is so hard a thing that it cannot be kept. To this I answer, that *Galen* kept it, and held it for the best *physic;* so did *Plato* also, and *Isocrates*, and *Tully*, and many others of the ancients; and

in our age, *Paul the Third*, and Cardinal *Bembo*, who therefore lived so long; and among our dukes, *Laudus*, and *Donatus*, and many others of inferior condition, not only in the city, but also in villages and hamlets.

Wherefore, since many have observed a regular life, both of old times and later years. it is no such thing which may not be performed; especially since in observing it there needs not many and curious things, but only that a man should begin, and by little and little accustom himself unto it.

Neither doth it hinder, that *Plato* says, That they who are employed in the commonwealth, cannot live regularly, because they must often endure heats, and colds, and winds, and showers, and divers labours, which suit not with an orderly life; for I answer, that those inconveniences are of no great moment (as I showed before) if a man be temperate in meat and drink, which is both easy for commonweal's men, and very convenient, both that they may preserve themselves from diseases, which hinder public employment; as also that their mind, in all things wherein they deal, may be more lively and vigorous.

But some may say, He which lives a regular life, eating always light meats and in a little quantity, what diet shall he use in diseases, which being in health he hath anticipated? I answer first, Nature, which endeavours to preserve a man as much as she can, teacheth us how to govern ourselves in sickness; for suddenly it takes away our

appetite, so that we can eat but a very little, wherewith she is very well contented: so that a sick man, whether he hath lived heretofore orderly or disorderly, when he is sick, ought not to eat but such meats as are agreeable to his disease, and that in much smaller quantity than when he was well. For if he should keep his former proportion, nature, which is already burdened with a disease, would be wholly oppressed. Secondly, I answer better, that he which lives a temperate life, cannot fall into diseases, and but very seldom into indispositions, because temperance takes away the causes of diseases; and the cause being taken away, there is no place for the effect.

Wherefore, since an orderly life is so profitable, so virtuous, so decent, and so holy, it is worthy by all means to be embraced; especially since it is easy and most agreeable to the nature of man. No man that follows it, is bound to eat and drink so little as I; no man is forbidden to eat fruit or fish, which I eat not; for I eat little, because a little sufficeth my weak stomach; and I abstain from fruit, and fish, and the like, because they hurt me. But they who find benefit in these meats may, yea ought to use them; yet all must needs take heed lest they take a greater quantity of any meat or drink (though most agreeable to them) than their stomach can easily digest; so that he which is offended with no kind of meat and drink, hath the quantity, and not the quality for his rule, which is very easy to be observed.

Let no man here object unto me, that there are many, who though they live disorderly, yet continue in health to their lives' end; because, since this is at the best but uncertain, dangerous, and very rare, the presuming upon it ought not to lead us to a disorderly life.

It is not the part of a wise man to expose himself to so many dangers of diseases and death, only upon a hope of a happy issue, which yet befalls very few. An old man of an ill constitution, but living orderly, is more sure of life than the most strong young man who lives disorderly.

But some, too much given to appetite, object, that a long life is no such desirable thing, because that after one is once sixty-five years old, all the time we live after is rather death than life: but these err greatly, as I will show by myself, recounting the delights and pleasures in this age of eighty-three, which now I take, and which are such as that men generally account me happy.

I am continually in health, and I am so nimble, that I can easily get on horseback without the advantage of the ground, and sometimes I go up high stairs and hills on foot. Then, I am ever cheerful, merry, and well-contented, free from all troubles and troublesome thoughts; in whose place joy and peace have taken up their standing in my heart. I am not weary of life, which I pass with great delight. I confer often with worthy men, excelling in wit, learning, behaviour, and other virtues. When I cannot have their company, I

give myself to the reading of some learned book, and afterwards to writing; making it my aim in all things, how I may help others to the furthest of my power.

All these things I do at my ease, and at fit seasons, and in mine own houses; which, besides that they are in the fairest place of this learned city of *Padua*, are very beautiful and convenient above most in this age, being so built by me according to the rules of architecture, that they are cool in summer, and warm in winter.

I enjoy also my gardens, and those divers, parted with rills of running water, which truly is very delightful. Some times of the year I enjoy the pleasure of the *Euganeam* hills, where also I have fountains and gardens, and a very convenient house. At other times, I repair to a village of mine, seated in the valley; which is therefore very pleasant, because many ways thither are so ordered, that they all meet, and end in a fair plot of ground; in the midst whereof is a church suitable to the condition of the place. This place is washed with the river of Brenta; on both sides whereof are great and fruitful fields, well manured and adorned with many habitations. In former time it was not so, because the place was moorish and unhealthy, fitter for beasts than men. But I drained the ground, and made the air good: whereupon men flocked thither, and built houses with happy success. By this means the place is come to that perfection we now see it is: so that I can truly say, that I have both given

God a temple, and men to worship him in it: the memory whereof is exceeding delightful to me.

Sometimes I ride to some of the neighbour cities, that I may enjoy the sight and communication of my friends, as also of excellent artificers in *architecture*, *painting*, *stone-cutting*, *music*, and *husbandry*, whereof in this age there is great plenty. I view their pieces, I compare them with those of antiquity; and ever I learn somewhat which is worthy of my knowledge: I survey *places*, *gardens*, and *antiquities*, public *fabrics*, *temples*, and *fortifications;* neither omit I any thing that may either teach, or delight me. I am much pleased also in my travels, with the beauty of situation. Neither is this my pleasure made less by the decaying dulness of my senses, which are all in their perfect vigour, but especially my taste; so that any simple fare is more savoury to me now, than heretofore, when I was given to disorder and all the delights that could be.

To change my bed, troubles me not; I sleep well and quietly any where, and my dreams are fair and pleasant. But this chiefly delights me, that my advice hath taken effect in the reducing of many rude and untoiled places in my country, to cultivation and good husbandry. I was one of those that was deputed for the managing of that work, and abode in those fenny places two whole months in the heat of summer, (which in *Italy* is very great) receiving not any hurt or inconvenience thereby:

so great is the power and efficacy of that *temperance* which ever accompanied me.

These are the delights and solaces of my old age, which is altogether to be preferred before others' youth: because that by *temperance* and the *Grace of God* I feel not those perturbations of body and mind, wherewith infinite both young and old are afflicted.

Moreover, by this also, in what estate I am, may be discovered, because at these years (viz. eighty-three) I have made a most pleasant comedy, full of honest wit and merriment: which kind of poems useth to be the child of youth, which it most suits withal for variety and pleasantness; as a tragedy with old age, by reason of the sad events which it contains. And if a *Greek poet* of old was praised, that at the age of seventy-three years he writ a tragedy, why should I be accounted less happy, or less myself, who being ten years older have made a comedy?

Now lest there should be any delight wanting to my old age, I daily behold a kind of immortality in the succession of my posterity. For when I come home, I find eleven grand children of mine, all the sons of one father and mother, all in perfect health; all as far as I can conjecture, very apt and well given both for learning and behaviour. I am delighted with their music and fashion, and I myself also sing often; because I have now a clearer voice, than ever I had in my life.

By which it is evident, that the life which I live

at this age, is not a dead, dumpish, and sour life; but cheerful, lively, and pleasant: neither if I had my wish, would I change age and constitution with them who follow their youthful appetites, although they be of a most strong temper: because such are daily exposed to a thousand dangers and deaths, as daily experience showeth, and I also, when I was a young man, too well found. I know how inconsiderate that age is, and, though subject to death, yet continually afraid of it: for death to all young men is a terrible thing, as also to those that live in sin, and follow their appetites; whereas I by the experience of so many years have learned to give way to reason: whence it seems to me, not only a shameful thing to fear that which cannot be avoided; but also I hope, when I shall come to that point, I shall find no little comfort in the favour of Jesus Christ. Yet I am sure, that my end is far from me: for I know that (setting casualties aside) I shall not die but by a pure resolution: because that by the regularity of my life I have shut out death all other ways; and that is a fair and desirable death, which nature brings by way of resolution.

Since, therefore, a temperate life is so happy and pleasant a thing; what remains, but that I should wish all who have the care of themselves, to embrace it with open arms?

Many things more might be said in commendation hereof: but lest in any thing I forsake that *temperance* which I have found so good, I here make an end.

JACULA PRUDENTUM;

OR, OUTLANDISH PROVERBS, SENTENCES, ETC.

SELECTED BY MR. GEORGE HERBERT, LATE ORATOR OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE.

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JACULA PRUDENTUM.

[OLD men go to death, death comes to young men.]

Man proposeth, God disposeth.

He begins to die, that quits his desires.

A handful of good life is better than a bushel of learning.

He that studies his content, wants it.

Every day brings its bread with it.

Humble hearts have humble desires.

He that stumbles and falls not, mends his pace.

The house shows the owner.

He that gets out of debt, grows rich.

All is well with him who is beloved of his neighbours.

Building and marrying of children are great wasters.

A good bargain is a pick-purse.

The scalded dog fears cold water.

Pleasing ware is half sold.

Light burdens, long borne, grow heavy.

The wolf knows what the ill beast thinks.

Who hath none to still him, may weep out his eyes.

When all sins grow old, covetousness is young.

If ye would know a knave, give him a staff.

You cannot know wine by the barrel.

A cool mouth, and warm feet, live long.

A horse made, and a man to make.

Look not for musk in a dog's kennel.

Not a long day, but a good heart rids work.

He pulls with a long rope, that waits for another's death.

Great strokes make not sweet music.

A cask and an ill custom must be broken.

A fat housekeeper makes lean executors.

Empty chambers make foolish maids.

The gentle hawk half mans herself.

The devil is not always at one door.

When a friend asks, there is no to-morrow.

God sends cold according to clothes.

One sound blow will serve to undo us all.

He loseth nothing, that loseth not God.

The German's wit is in his fingers.

At dinner my man appears.

Who gives to all, denies all.

Quick believers need broad shoulders.

Who remove stones, bruise their fingers.

[Benefits please like flowers while they are fresh.]

[Between the business of life and the day of death, a space ought to be interposed.]

All came from and will go to others.

He that will take the bird, must not scare it.

He lives unsafely that looks too near on things.

A gentle housewife mars the household.

A crooked log makes a straight fire.

He hath great need of a fool that plays the fool himself.

A merchant that gains not, loseth.

Let not him that fears feathers come among wild-fowl.

Love, and a cough, cannot be hid.

A dwarf on a giant's shoulder sees further of the two.

He that sends a fool, means to follow him.

Brabbling curs never want sore ears.

Better the feet slip than the tongue.

For washing his hands, none sells his lands.

A lion's skin is never cheap.

The goat must browse where she is tied.

[Nothing is to be presumed on, or despaired of.]

Who hath a wolf for his mate, needs a dog for his man.

In a good house all is quickly ready.

A bad dog never sees the wolf.

God oft hath a great share in a little house.

Ill ware is never cheap.

A cheerful look makes a dish a feast.

If all fools had bawbles, we should want fuel.

Virtue never grows old.

Evening words are not like to morning.

Were there no fools, bad ware would not pass.

Never had ill workman good tools.

He stands not surely that never slips.

Were there no hearers, there would be no backbiters.

Every thing is of use to a housekeeper.

When prayers are done, my lady is ready.

[Cities seldom change religion only.]

At length the fox turns monk.

Flies are busiest about lean horses.

Hearken to reason, or she will be heard.

The bird loves her nest.

Every thing new is fine.

When a dog is a drowning, every one offers him drink.

Better a bare foot than none.

Who is so deaf as he that will not hear?

He that is warm thinks all so.

At length the fox is brought to the furrier.

He that goes bare-foot must not plant thorns.

They that are booted are not always ready.

He that will learn to pray, let him go to sea.

In spending lies the advantage.

He that lives well, is learned enough.

Ill vessels seldom miscarry.

A full belly neither fights nor flies well.

All truths are not to be told.

An old wise man's shadow is better than a young buzzard's sword.

Noble housekeepers need no doors.

Every ill man hath his ill day.

Sleep without supping, and wake without owing.

I gave the mouse a hole, and she is become my heir.

Assail who will, the valiant attends.

Whither goest, grief? where I am wont.

Praise day at night, and life at the end.

Whither shall the ox go where he shall not labour?

Where you think there is bacon, there is no chimney.

Mend your clothes, and you may hold out this year.

Press a stick, and it seems a youth.

The tongue walks where the teeth speed not.

A fair wife and a frontier castle breed quarrels.

Leave jesting whiles it pleaseth, lest it turn to earnest.

Deceive not thy physician, confessor, nor lawyer.

Ill natures, the more you ask them, the more they stick.

Virtue and a trade are the best portion for children.

The chicken is the country's, but the city eats it.

He that gives thee a capon, give him the leg and the wing.

He that lives ill, fear follows him.

Give a clown your finger, and he will take your hand.

Good is to be sought out, and evil attended.

A good paymaster starts not at assurances.

No alchymy to saving.

To a grateful man give money when he asks.

Who would do ill ne'er wants occasion.

To fine folks a little ill finely wrapt.

A child correct behind, and not before.

To a fair day, open the window, but make you ready as to a foul.

Keep good men company, and you shall be of the number.

No love to a father's.

The mill gets by going.

To a boiling pot flies come not.

Make haste to an ill way, that you may get out of it.

A snow year, a rich year.

Better to be blind than to see ill.

Learn weeping, and thou shalt laugh gaining.

Who hath no more bread than need, must not keep a dog.

A garden must be looked unto, and dressed as the body.

The fox, when he cannot reach the grapes, says, They are not ripe.

Water trotted is as good as oats.

Though the mastiff be gentle, yet bite him not by the lip.

Though a lie be well drest, it is ever overcome.

Though old and wise, yet still advise.

Three helping one another, bear the burthen of six.

[Slander is a shipwreck by a dry tempest.]

Old wine and an old friend are good provisions.

Happy is he that chastens himself.

Well may he smell fire, whose gown burns.

The wrongs of a husband or master are not reproached.

Welcome evil, if thou comest alone.

Love your neighbour, yet pull not down your hedge.

The bit that one eats, no friend makes.

A drunkard's purse is a bottle.

She spins well that breeds her children.

Good is the *mora* that makes all sure.

Play with a fool at home, and he will play with you in the market.

Every one stretcheth his legs according to his coverlet.

Autumnal agues are long or mortal.

Marry your son when you will; your daughter when you can.

Dally not with money or women.

Men speak of the fair as things went with them there.

The best remedy against an ill man, is much ground between both.

The mill cannot grind with water that's past.

Corn is cleaned with wind, and the soul with chastenings.

Good words are worth much, and cost little.

To buy dear is not bounty.

Jest not with the eye, or with religion.

The eye and religion can bear no jesting.

Without favour none will know you, and with it you will not know yourself.

Buy at a fair, but sell at home.

Cover yourself with your shield, and care not for cries.

A wicked man's gift hath a touch of his master.

None is a fool always, every one sometimes.

From a choleric man withdraw a little; from him that says nothing for ever.

Debtors are liars.

Of all smells, bread: of all tastes, salt.

In a great river great fish are found: but take heed lest you be drowned.

Ever since we wear clothes, we know not one another.

God heals, and the physician hath the thanks.

Hell is full of good meanings and wishings.

Take heed of still waters, the quick pass away.

After the house is finished, leave it.

Our own actions are our security, not others' judgments.

Think of ease, but work on.

He that lies long a bed, his estate feels it.

Whether you boil snow or pound it, you can have but water of it.

One stroke fells not an oak.

God complains not, but doth what is fitting.

A diligent scholar, and the master's paid.

Milk says to wine, Welcome, friend.

They that know one another, salute afar off.

Where there is no honour, there is no grief.

Where the drink goes in, there the wit goes out.

He that stays, does the business.

Alms never make poor. Or thus,

Great alms-giving lessens no man's living.

Giving much to the poor, doth enrich a man's store.

It takes much from the account, to which his sin doth amount.

It adds to the glory both of soul and body.

Ill comes in by ells, and goes out by inches.

The smith and his penny both are black.

Whose house is of glass, must not throw stones at another.

If the old dog bark, he gives counsel.

The tree that grows slowly, keeps itself for another.

I wept when I was born, and every day shews why.

He that looks not before, finds himself behind.

He that plays his money, ought not to value it.

He that riseth first, is first drest.

Diseases of the eye are to be cured with the elbow.

The hole calls the thief.

A gentleman's greyhound and a salt-box, seek them at the fire.

A child's service is little, yet he is no little fool that despiseth it.

The river past, and God forgotten.

Evils have their comfort; good none can support (to wit) with a moderate and contented heart.

Who must account for himself and others, must know both.

He that eats the hard, shall eat the ripe.

The miserable man maketh a penny of a farthing, and the liberal of a farthing sixpence.

The honey is sweet, but the bee stings.

Weight and measure take away strife.

The son full and tattered, the daughter empty and fine.

Every path hath a puddle.

In good years corn is hay, in ill years straw is corn.

Send a wise man on an errand, and say nothing unto him.

In life you loved me not, in death you bewail me.

Into a mouth shut flies fly not.

The heart's letter is read in the eyes.

The ill that comes out of our mouth falls into our bosom.

In great pedigrees there are governors and chandlers.

In the house of a fiddler, all fiddle.

Sometimes the best gain is to lose.

Working and making a fire doth discretion require.

One grain fills not a sack, but helps his fellows.

It is a great victory that comes without blood.

In war, hunting, and love, men for one pleasure a thousand griefs prove.

Reckon right, and February hath one and thirty days.

Honour without profit is a ring on the finger.

Estate in two parishes is bread in two wallets.

Honour and profit lie not in one sack.

A naughty child is better sick than whole.

Truth and oil are ever above.

He that riseth betimes, hath something in his head.

Advise none to marry or go to war.

To steal the hog, and give the feet for alms.

The thorn comes forth with the point forwards.

One hand washeth another, and both the face.

The fault of the horse is put on the saddle.

The corn hides itself in the snow as an old man in furs.

The Jews spend at Easter, the Moors at marriages, the Christians in suits.

Fine dressing is a foul house swept before the doors.

A woman and a glass are ever in danger.

An ill wound is cured, not an ill name.

The wise hand doth not all that the foolish mouth speaks.

On painting and fighting look aloof.

Knowledge is folly, except grace guide it.

Punishment is lame, but it comes.

The more women look in their glass, the less they look to their house.

A long tongue is a sign of a short hand.

Marry a widow before she leave mourning.

The worst of law is, that one suit breeds twenty

Providence is better than a rent.

What your glass tells you, will not be told by counsel.

There are more men threatened than stricken.

A fool knows more in his house, than a wise man in another's.

I had rather ride on an ass that carries me, than a horse that throws me.

The hard gives more than he that hath nothing.

The beast that goes always, never wants blows.

Good cheap is dear.

It costs more to do ill than to do well.

Good words quench more than a bucket of water.

An ill agreement is better than a good judgment.

There is more talk than trouble.

Better spare to have of thine own, than ask of other men.

Better good afar off, than evil at hand.

Fear keeps the garden better than the gardener.

I had rather ask of my sire brown bread, than borrow of my neighbour white.

Your pot broken seems better than my whole one.

Let an ill man lie in thy straw, and he looks to be thy heir.

By suppers more have been killed than Galen ever cured.

While the discreet advise, the fool doth his business.

A mountain and a river are good neighbours.

Gossips are frogs, they drink and talk.

Much spends the traveller more than the abider.

Prayers and provender hinder no journey.

A well-bred youth neither speaks of himself, nor, being spoken to, is silent.

A journeying woman speaks much of all, and all of her.

The fox knows much, but more he that catcheth him.

Many friends in general, one in special.

The fool asks much, but he is more fool that grants it.

Many kiss the hand they wish cut off.

Neither bribe, nor lose thy right.

In the world who knows not to swim, goes to the bottom.

Choose not a house near an inn (viz. for noise); or in a corner (for filth).

He is a fool that thinks not that another thinks.

Neither eyes on letters, nor hands in coffers.

The lion is not so fierce as they paint him.

Go not for every grief to the physician, nor for every quarrel to the lawyer, nor for every thirst to the pot.

Good service is a great enchantment.

There would be no great ones, if there were no little ones.

It is no sure rule to fish with a cross-bow.

There were no ill language, if it were not ill taken.

The groundsel speaks not, save what it heard at the hinges.

The best mirror is an old friend.

Say no ill of the year till it be past.

A man's discontent is his worst evil.

Fear nothing but sin.

The child says nothing, but what it heard by the sire.

Call me not an olive, till thou see me gathered.

That is not good language which all understand not.

He that burns his house, warms himself for once.

He will burn his house, to warm his hands.

He will spend a whole year's rent at one meal's meat.

All is not gold that glisters.

A blustering night, a fair day.

Be not idle, and you shall not be longing.

He is not poor that hath little, but he that desireth much.

Let none say, I will not drink water.

He wrongs not an old man that steals his supper from him.

The tongue talks at the head's cost.

He that strikes with his tongue, must ward with his head.

Keep not ill men company, lest you increase the number.

God strikes not with both hands, for to the sea he made heavens, and to rivers fords.

A rugged stone grows smooth from hand to hand.

No lock will hold against the power of gold.

The absent party is still faulty.

Peace, and patience, and death with repentance.

If you lose your time, you cannot get money nor gain.

Be not a baker, if your head be of butter.

Ask much to have a little.

Little sticks kindle the fire; great ones put it out.

Another's bread costs dear.

Although it rain, throw not away thy watering pot.

Although the sun shine, leave not thy cloak at home.

A little with quiet is the only diet.

In vain is the mill-clack, if the miller his hearing lack.

By the needle you shall draw the thread, and by that which is past, see how that which is to come will be drawn on.

Stay a little, and news will find you.

Stay till the lame messenger come, if you will know the truth of the thing.

When God will, no wind but brings rain.

Though you rise early, yet the day comes at his time, and not till then.

Pull down your hat on the wind's side.

As the year is, your pot must seeth.

Since you know all, and I nothing, tell me what I dreamed last night.

When the fox preacheth, beware geese.

When you are an anvil, hold you still; when you are a hammer, strike your fill.

Poor and liberal, rich and covetous.

He that makes his bed ill, lies there.

He that labours and thrives, spins gold.

He that sows, trusts in God.

He that lies with the dogs, riseth with fleas.

He that repairs not a part, builds all.

A discontented man knows not where to sit easy.

Who spits against heaven, it falls in his face.

He that dines and leaves, lays the cloth twice.

Who eats his cock alone, must saddle his horse alone.

He that is not handsome at twenty, nor strong at thirty, nor rich at forty, nor wise at fifty, will never be handsome, strong, rich, or wise.

He that doth what he will, doth not what he ought.

He that will deceive the fox, must rise betimes.

He that lives well, sees afar off.

He that hath a mouth of his own, must not say to another, Blow.

He that will be served, must be patient.

He that gives thee a bone, would not have thee die.

He that chastens one, chastens twenty.

He that hath lost his credit, is dead to the world.

He that hath no ill fortune, is troubled with good.

He that demands, misseth not, unless his demands be foolish.

He that hath no honey in his pot, let him have it in his mouth.

He that takes not up a pin, slights his wife.

He that owes nothing, if he makes not mouths at us, is courteous.

He that loseth his due, gets not thanks.

He that believes all, misseth; he that believeth nothing, hits not.

Pardons and pleasantness are great revenges of slanders.

A married man turns his staff into a stake.

If you would know secrets, look them in grief or pleasure.

Serve a noble disposition, though poor, the time comes that he will repay thee.

The fault is as great as he that is faulty.

If folly were grief, every house would weep.

He that would be well old, must be old betimes.

Sit in your place, and none can make you rise.

If you could run as you drink, you might catch a hare.

Would you know what money is, go borrow some.

The morning sun never lasts a day.

Thou hast death in thy house, and dost bewail another's.

All griefs with bread are less.

All things require skill, but an appetite.

All things have their place, knew we how to place them.

Little pitchers have wide ears.

We are fools one to another.

This world is nothing except it tend to another.

There are three ways, the universities, the sea, the court.

God comes to see without a bell.

Life without a friend, is death without a witness.

Clothe thee in war, arm thee in peace.

The horse thinks one thing, and he that saddles him another.

Mills and wives ever want.

The dog that licks ashes, trust not with meal.

The buyer needs a hundred eyes, the seller not one.

He carries well, to whom it weighs not.

The comforter's head never aches.

Step after step the ladder is ascended.

Who likes not the drink, God deprives him of bread.

To a crazy ship all winds are contrary.

Justice pleaseth few in their own house.

In time comes he, whom God sends.

Water afar off quencheth not fire.

In sports and journeys men are known.

An old friend is a new house.

Love is not found in the market.

Dry feet, warm head, bring safe to bed.

He is rich enough that wants nothing.

One father is enough to govern one hundred sons, but not a hundred sons one father.

Far shooting never killed bird.

An upbraided morsel never choked any.

Dearths foreseen come not.

An ill labourer quarrels with his tools.

He that falls into the dirt, the longer he stays there, the fouler he is.

He that blames, would buy.

He that sings on Friday, will weep on Sunday.

The charges of building, and making of gardens are unknown.

My house, my house, though thou art small, thou art to me the escurial.

A hundred load of thought will not pay one of debts.

He that comes of a hen must scrape.

He that seeks trouble never misses.

He that once deceives, is ever suspected.

Being on sea, sail; being on land, settle.

Who doth his own business, fouls not his hands.

He that makes a good war, makes a good peace.

He that works after his own manner, his head aches not at the matter.

Who hath bitter in his mouth, spits not all sweet.

He that hath children, all his morsels are not his own.

He that hath the spice, may season as he list.

He that hath a head of wax, must not walk in the sun

He that hath love in his breast, hath spurs in his sides.

He that respects not, is not respected.

He that hath a fox for his mate, hath need of a net at his girdle.

He that hath right, fears; he that hath wrong, hopes.

He that hath patience, hath fat thrushes for a farthing.

Never was strumpet fair.

He that measures not himself is measured.

He that hath one hog, makes him fat; and he that hath one son, makes him a fool.

Who lets his wife go to every feast, and his horse drink at every water, shall neither have good wife nor good horse.

He that speaks sows, and he that holds his peace gathers.

He that hath little is the less dirty.

He that lives most dies most.

He that hath one foot in the straw hath another in the spittle.

He that is fed at another's hand, may stay long ere he be full.

He that makes a thing too fine, breaks it.

He that bewails himself, hath the cure in his hands.

He that would be well, needs not go from his own house.

Counsel breaks not the head.

Fly the pleasure that bites to-morrow.

He that knows what may be gained in a day, never steals.

Money refused loseth its brightness.

Health and money go far.

Where your will is ready, your feet are light.

A great ship asks deep waters.

Woe to the house where there is no chiding.

Take heed of the vinegar of sweet wine.

Fools bite one another, but wise men agree together.

Trust not one night's ice.

Good is good, but better carries it.

To gain teacheth how to spend.

Good finds good.

The dog gnaws the bone because he cannot swallow it.

The crow bewails the sheep, and then eats it.

Building is a sweet impoverishing.

The first degree of folly is to hold one's self wise, the second to profess it, the third to despise counsel.

The greatest step is that out of doors.

To weep for joy is a kind of manna.

The first service a child doth his father is to make him foolish.

The resolved mind hath no cares.

In the kingdom of a cheater, the wallet is carried before.

The eye will have his part.

The good mother says not, Will you? but gives.

A house and a woman suit excellently.

In the kingdom of blind men, the one eyed is king.

A little kitchen makes a large house.

War makes thieves, and peace hangs them.

Poverty is the mother of health.

In the morning mountains, in the evening fountains.

The back door robs the house.

Wealth is like rheum, it falls on the weakest parts.

The gown is his that wears it, and the world his that enjoys it.

Hope is the poor man's bread.

Virtue now is in herbs, and stones, and words only.

Fine words dress ill deeds.

Labour as long lived, pray as even dying.

A poor beauty finds more lovers than husbands.

Discreet women have neither eyes nor ears.

Things well fitted abide.

Prettiness dies first.

Talking pays no toll.

The master's eye fattens the horse, and his foot the ground.

Disgraces are like cherries, one draws another.

Praise a hill, but keep below.

Praise the sea, but keep on land.

In choosing a wife, and buying a sword, we ought not to trust another.

The wearer knows where the shoe wrings.

Fair is not fair, but that which pleaseth.

There is no jollity but hath a smack of folly.

He that's long a giving knows not how to give.

The filth under the white snow the sun discovers.

Every one fastens where there is gain.

All feet tread not in one shoe.

Patience, time, and money accommodate all things.

For want of a nail the shoe is lost, for want of a shoe the horse is lost, for want of a horse the rider is lost.

Weight justly and sell dearly.

Little wealth little care.

Little journeys and good cost bring safe home.

Gluttony kills more than the sword.

When children stand quiet, they have done some ill.

A little and good fills the trencher.

A penny spared is twice got.

When a knave is in a plum-tree, he hath neither friend nor kin.

Short boughs, long vintage.

Health without money is half an ague.

If the wise erred not, it would go hard with fools.

Bear with evil, and expect good.

He that tells a secret, is another's servant.

If all fools wore white caps, we should seem a flock of geese.

Water, fire, and soldiers quickly make room.

Pension never enriched a young man.

Under water, famine; under snow, bread.

The lame goes as far as your staggerer.

He that loseth is merchant, as well as he that gains.

A jade eats as much as a good horse.

All things in their being are good for something.

One flower makes no garland.

A fair death honours the whole life.

One enemy is too much.

Living well is the best revenge.

One fool makes a hundred.

One pair of ears draws dry a hundred tongues.

A fool may throw a stone into a well, which a hundred wise men cannot pull out.

One slumber finds another.

On a good bargain think twice.

To a good spender God is the treasurer.

A curst cow hath short horns.

Music helps not the tooth-ache.

We cannot come to honour under coverlet.

Great pains quickly find ease.

To the counsel of fools a wooden bell.

The choleric man never wants woe.

Help thyself, and God will help thee.

At the game's end we shall see who gains.

There are many ways to fame.

Love is the true price of love.

Love rules his kingdom without a sword.

Love makes all hard hearts gentle.

Love makes a good eye squint.

Love asks faith, and faith firmness.

A sceptre is one thing, and a ladle another.

Great trees are good for nothing but shade.

He commands enough that obeys a wise man.

Fair words make me look to my purse.

Though the fox run, the chicken hath wings.

He plays well that wins.

You must strike in measure, when there are many to strike on one anvil.

The shortest answer is doing.

It is a poor stake that cannot stand one year in the ground.

He that commits a fault, thinks every one speaks of it.

He that is foolish in the fault, let him be wise in the punishment.

The blind eats many a fly.

He that can make a fire well, can end a quarrel.

The tooth-ache is more ease than to deal with ill people.

He that would have what he hath not, should do what he doth not.

He that hath no good trade, it is to his loss.

The offender never pardons.

He that lives not well one year, sorrows seven after.

He that hopes not for good, fears not evil.

He that is angry at a feast, is rude.

He that mocks a cripple, ought to be whole.

When the tree is fallen, all go with their hatchet.

He that hath horns in his bosom, let him not put them on his head.

He that burns most, shines most.

He that trusts in a lie, shall perish in truth.

He that blows in the dust, fills his eyes with it.

Bells call others, but themselves enter not into the church.

Of fair things, the Autumn is fair.

Giving is dead, restoring very sick.

A gift much expected is paid, not given.

Two ill meals make the third a glutton.

The royal crown cures not the head-ache.

'Tis hard to be wretched, but worse to be known so.

A feather in hand is better than a bird in the air.

It is better to be the head of a lizard than the tail of a lion.

Good and quickly seldom meet.

Folly grows without watering.

Happier are the hands compassed with iron, than a heart with thoughts.

If the staff be crooked, the shadow cannot be straight.

To take the nuts from the fire with the dog's foot.

He is a fool that makes a wedge of his fist.

Valour that parleys, is near yielding.

Thursday come, and the week is gone.

A flatterer's throat is an open sepulchre.

There is great force hidden in a sweet command.

The command of custom is great.

To have money is a fear, not to have it a grief.

The cat sees not the mouse ever.

Little dogs start the hare, the great get her.

Willows are weak, yet they bind other wood.

A good payer is master of another's purse.

The thread breaks where it is weakest.

Old men, when they scorn young, make much of death.

God is at the end, when we think he is furthest off it.

A good judge conceives quickly, judges slowly.

Rivers need a spring.

He that contemplates, hath a day without night.

Give losers leave to talk.

Loss embraceth shame.

Gaming, women, and wine, while they laugh. they make men pine.

The fat man knoweth not what the lean thinketh.

Wood half burnt is easily kindled.

The fish adores the bait.

He that goeth far hath many encounters.

Every bee's honey is sweet.

The slothful is the servant of the counters.

Wisdom hath one foot on land, and another on sea.

The thought hath good legs, and the quill a good tongue.

A wise man needs not blush for changing his purpose.

The March sun raises, but dissolves not.

Time is the rider that breaks youth.

The wine in the bottle doth not quench thirst.

The sight of a man hath the force of a lion.

An examined enterprize goes on boldly.

In every art it is good to have a master.

In every country dogs bite.

In every country the sun rises in the morning.

A noble plant suits not with a stubborn ground.

You may bring a horse to the river, but he will drink when and what he pleaseth.

Before you make a friend, eat a bushel of salt with him.

Speak fitly, or be silent wisely.

Skill and confidence are an unconquered army.

I was taken by a morsel, says the fish.

A disarmed peace is weak.

The balance distinguisheth not between gold and lead.

The persuasion of the fortunate sways the doubtful.

To be beloved is above all bargains.

To deceive oneself is very easy.

The reasons of the poor weigh not.

Perverseness makes one squint-eyed.

The evening praises the day, and the morning a frost.

The table robs more than a thief.

When age is jocund, it makes sport for death.

True praise roots and spreads.

Fears are divided in the midst.

The soul needs few things, the body many.

Astrology is true, but the astrologers cannot find it.

Tie it well, and let it go.

Empty vessels sound most.

Send not a cat for lard.

Foolish tongues talk by the dozen.

Love makes one fit for any work.

A pitiful mother makes a scald head.

An old physician, and a young lawyer.

Talk much, and err much, says the Spaniard.

Some make a conscience of spitting in the church, yet rob the altar.

An idle head is a box for the wind.

Show me a liar, and I will show thee a thief.

A bean in liberty is better than a comfit in prison.

None is born master.

Show a good man his error, and he turns it to a virtue; but an ill, it doubles his fault.

None is offended but by himself.

None says his garner is full.

In the husband wisdom, in the wife gentleness.

Nothing dries sooner than a tear.

In a leopard the spots are not observed.

Nothing lasts but the church.

A wise man cares not for what he cannot have.

It is not good fishing before the net.

He cannot be virtuous that is not rigorous.

That which will not be spun, let it not come between the spindle and the distaff.

When my house burns, it is not good playing at chess.

No barber shaves so close but another finds work.

There is no great banquet, but some fares ill.

A holy habit cleanseth not a foul soul.

Forbear not sowing, because of birds.

Mention not a halter in the house of him that was hanged.

Speak not of a dead man at the table.

A hat is not made for one shower.

No sooner is a temple built to God, but the devil builds a chapel hard by.

Every one puts his fault on the times.

You cannot make a windmill go with a pair of bellows.

Pardon all but thyself.

Every one is weary, the poor in seeking, the rich in keeping, the good in learning.

The escaped mouse ever feels the taste of the bait.

A little wind kindles, much puts out the fire.

Dry bread at home is better than roast meat abroad.

More have repented speech than silence.

The covetous spends more than the liberal.

Divine ashes are better than earthly meal.

Beauty draws more than oxen.

One father is more than a hundred schoolmasters.

One eye of the master's sees more than ten of the servant's.

When God will punish, he will first take away the understanding.

A little labour, much health.

When it thunders the thief becomes honest.

The tree that God plants, no wind hurts it.

Knowledge is no burthen.

It is a bold mouse that nestles in the cat's ear.

Long jesting was never good.

If a good man thrive, all thrive with him.

If the mother had not been in the oven, she had never sought her daughter there.

If great men would have care of little ones, both would last long.

Though you see a church-man ill, yet continue in the church still.

Old praise dies, unless you feed it.

If things were to be done twice, all would be wise.

Had you the world on your chess-board, you could not fill all to your mind.

Suffer and expect.

If fools should not fool it, they shall lose their season.

Love and business teach eloquence.

That which two will, takes effect.

He complains wrongfully on the sea, that twice suffers shipwreck.

He is only bright that shines by himself.

A valiant man's look is more than a coward's sword.

The effect speaks, the tongue needs not.

Divine grace was never slow.

Reason lies between the spur and the bridle.

It is a proud horse that will not carry his own provender.

Three women make a market.

Three can hold their peace if two be away.

It is an ill counsel that hath no escape.

All our pomp the earth covers.

To whirl the eyes too much, shows a kite's brain.

Comparisons are odious.

All keys hang not on one girdle.

Great businesses turn on a little pin.

The wind in one's face makes one wise.

All the arms of England will not arm fear.

One sword keeps another in the sheath.

Be what thou wouldst seem to be.

Let all live as they would die.

A gentle heart is tied with an easy thread.

Sweet discourse makes short days and nights.

God provides for him that trusteth.

He that will not have peace, God gives him war.

To him that will, ways are not wanting.

To a great night, a great lanthorn.

To a child all weather is cold.

Where there is peace, God is.

None is so wise, but the fool overtakes him.

Fools give to please all but their own.

Prosperity lets go the bridle.

The friar preached against stealing, and had a goose in his sleeve.

To be too busy gets contempt.

February makes a bridge, and March breaks it.

A horse stumbles that hath four legs.

The best smell is bread, the best savour salt, the best love that of children.

That is the best gown that goes up and down the house.

The market is the best garden.

The first dish pleaseth all.

The higher the ape goes, the more he shows his tail.

Night is the mother of councils.

God's mill grinds slow, but sure.

Every one thinks his sack heaviest.

Drought never brought dearth.

All complain.

Gamesters and race-horses never last long.

It is a poor sport that is not worth the candle.

He that is fallen cannot help him that is down.

Every one is witty for his own purpose.

A little let lets an ill workman.

Good workmen are seldom rich.

By doing nothing we learn to do ill.

A great dowry is a bed full of brambles.

No profit to honour, no honour to religion.

Every sin brings its punishment with it.

Of him that speaks ill, consider the life more than the word.

You cannot hide an eel in a sack.

Give not Saint Peter so much, to leave Saint Paul nothing.

You cannot flay a stone.

The chief disease that reigns this year is folly.

A sleepy master makes his servant a lout.

Better speak truth rudely, than lie covertly.

He that fears leaves, let him not go into the wood.

One foot is better than two crutches.

Better suffer ill, than do ill.

Neither praise nor dispraise thyself, thy actions serve the turn.

Soft and fair goes far.

The constancy of the benefit of the year in their seasons argues a Deity.

Praise none too much, for all are fickle.

It is absurd to warm one in his armour.

Lawsuits consume time, and money, and rest, and friends.

Nature draws more than ten teams.

He that hath a wife and children, wants not business.

A ship and a woman are ever repairing.

He that fears death, lives not.

He that pities another, remembers himself.

He that doth what he should not, shall feel what he would not.

He that marries for wealth, sells his liberty.

He that once hits, is ever bending.

He that serves, must serve.

He that lends, gives.

He that preacheth, giveth alms.

He that cockers his child, provides for his enemy.

A pitiful look asks enough.

Who will sell the cow, must say the word.

Service is no inheritance.

The faulty stands on his guard.

A kinsman, a friend, or whom you entreat, take not to serve you, if you will be served neatly.

At court, every one for himself.

To a crafty man, a crafty and a half.

He that is thrown, would ever wrestle.

He that serves well, needs not ask his wages.

Fair language grates not the tongue.

A good heart cannot lie.

Good swimmers at length are drowned.

Good land, evil way.

In doing we learn.

It is good walking with a horse in one's hand.

God, and parents, and our master, can never be requited.

An ill deed cannot bring honour.

A small heart hath small desires.

All are not merry that dance lightly.

Courtesy on one side only lasts not long.

Wine counsels seldom prosper.

Weening is not measure.

The best of the sport is to do the deed, and say nothing.

If thou thyself canst do it, attend no other's help or hand.

Of a little thing, a little displeaseth.

He warms too near that burns.

God keep me from four houses, a usurer's, a tavern, a spital, and a prison.

In a hundred ells of contention, there is not an inch of love.

Do what thou oughtest, and come what come can.

Hunger makes dinners, pastime suppers.

In a long journey straw weighs.

Women laugh when they can, and weep when they will.

War is death's feast.

Set good against evil.

He that brings good news knocks hard.

Beat the dog before the lion.

Haste comes not alone.

You must lose a fly to catch a trout.

Better a snotty child than his nose wiped off.

He is not free that draws his chain.

He goes not out of his way that goes to a good inn.

There comes nought out of the sack, but what was there.

A little given seasonably, excuses a great gift.

He looks not well to himself that looks not ever.

He thinks not well, that thinks not again.

Religion, credit, and the eye are not to be touched.

The tongue is not steel, yet it cuts.

A white wall is the paper of a fool.

They talk of Christmas so long, that it comes.

That is gold which is worth gold.

It is good tying the sack before it be full.

Words are women, deeds are men.

Poverty is no sin.

A stone in a well is not lost.

He can give little to his servant that licks his knife.

Promising is the eve of giving.

He that keeps his own, makes war.

The wolf must die in his own skin.

Goods are theirs that enjoy them.

He that sends a fool, expects one.

He that can stay, obtains.

He that gains well and spends well, needs no account book.

He that endures, is not overcome.

He that gives all before he dies, provides to suffer.

He that talks much of his happiness, summons grief.

He that loves the tree, loves the branch.

Who hastens a glutton, chokes him.

Who praiseth Saint Peter, doth not blame Saint Paul.

He that hath not the craft, let him shut up shop.

He that knows nothing, doubts nothing.

Green wood makes a hot fire.

He that marries late, marries ill.

He that passeth a winter's day, escapes an enemy.

The rich knows not who is his friend.

A morning sun, and a wine-bred child, and a Latin-bred woman seldom end well.

To a close shorn sheep, God gives wind by measure.

A pleasure long expected, is dear enough sold.

A poor man's cow dies a rich man's child.

The cow knows not what her tail is worth till she have lost it.

Choose a horse made, and a wife to make.

It is an ill air where we gain nothing.

He hath not lived, that lives not after death.

So many men in court, and so many strangers.

He quits his place well, that leaves his friend here.

That which sufficeth is not little.

Good news may be told at any time, but ill in the morning.

He that would be a gentleman, let him go to an assault.

Who pays the physician, does the cure.

None knows the weight of another's burthen.

Every one hath a fool in his sleeve.

One hour's sleep before midnight is worth three after.

In a retreat the lame are foremost.

It is more pain to do nothing than something.

Amongst good men two men suffice.

There needs a long time to know the world's pulse.

The offspring of those that are very young, or very old, lasts not.

A tyrant is most tyrant to himself.

Too much taking heed is loss.

Craft against craft, makes no living.

The reverend are ever before.

France is a meadow that cuts thrice a year.

It is easier to build two chimneys, than to maintain one.

The court hath no almanack.

He that will enter into Paradise, must have a good key.

When you enter into a house, leave the anger ever at the door.

He hath no leisure who useth it not.

It is a wicked thing to make a dearth one's garner.

He that deals in the world needs four sieves.

Take heed of an ox before, of a horse behind, of a monk on all sides.

The year doth nothing else but open and shut.

The ignorant hath an eagle's wings and an owl's eyes.

There are more physicians in health than drunkards.

The wife is the key of the house.

The law is not the same at morning and at night.

War and physic are governed by the eye.

Half the world knows not how the other half lies.

Death keeps no calendar.

Ships fear fire more than water.

The least foolish is wise.

The chief box of health is time.

Silks and satins put out the fire in the chimney.

The first blow is as much as two.

The life of man is a winter way.

The way is an ill neighbour.

An old man's staff is the wrapper of death's door.

Life is half spent, before we know what it is.

The singing man keeps his shop in his throat.

The body is more dressed than the soul.

The body is sooner dressed than the soul.

The physician owes all to the patient, but the patient owes nothing to him but a little money.

The little cannot be great, unless he devour many.

Time undermines us.

The choleric drinks, the melancholic eats, the phlegmatic sleeps.

The apothecary's mortar spoils the luter's music.

Conversation makes one what he is.

The deaf gains the injury.

Years know more than books.

Wine is a turn-coat, (first a friend, then an enemy).

Wine ever pays for his lodging.

Wine makes all sorts of creatures at table.

Wine that cost nothing is digested before it be drunk.

Trees eat but once.

Armour is light at table.

Good horses make short miles.

Castles are forests of stones.

The dainties of the great are the tears of the poor.

Parsons are souls' waggoners.

Children when they are little make parents fools, when they are great they make them mad.

The master absent, and the house dead.

Dogs are fine in the field.

Sins are not known till they be acted.

Thorns whiten, yet do nothing.

All are presumed good till they are found in a fault.

The great put the little on the hook.

The great would have none great, and the little all little.

The Italians are wise before the deed, the Germans in the deed, the French after the deed.

Every mile is two in winter.

Spectacles are death's arquebuse.

Lawyers' houses are built on the heads of fools.

The house is a fine house when good folks are within.

The best bred have the best portion.

The first and last frosts are the worst.

Gifts enter every where without a wimble.

Princes have no way.

Knowledge makes one laugh, but wealth makes one dance.

The citizen is at his business before he rise.

The eyes have one language every where.

It is better to have wings than horns.

Better be a fool than a knave.

Count not four, except you have them in a wallet.

To live peaceably with all, breeds good blood.

You may be on land, yet not in a garden.

You cannot make the fire so low, but it will get out.

We know not who lives or dies.

An ox is taken by the horns, and a man by the tongue.

Many things are lost for want of asking.

No church-yard is so handsome, that a man would desire straight to be buried there.

Cities are taken by the ears.

Once a year a man may say, On his conscience.

We leave more to do when we die, than we have done.

With customs we live well, but laws undo us.

To speak of a usurer at the table, mars the wine.

Pains to get, care to keep, fear to lose.

For a morning rain, leave not your journey.

One fair day in winter makes not birds merry.

He that learns a trade, hath a purchase made.

When all men have what belongs to them, it cannot be much.

Though God take the sun out of the heaven, yet we must have patience.

When a man sleeps, his head is in his stomach.

When one is on horseback, he knows all things.

When God is made the master of a family, he orders the disorderly.

When a lackey comes to hell's door, the devils lock the gates.

He that is at ease, seeks dainties.

He that hath charge of souls, transports them not in bundles.

He that tells his wife news, is but newly married.

He that is in a town in May loseth his spring.

He that is in a tavern, thinks he is in a vine-garden.

He that praiseth himself, spattereth himself.

He that is a master, must serve (another).

He that is surprised with the first frost, feels it all the winter after.

He a beast doth die, that hath done no good to his country.

He that follows the Lord, hopes to go before.

He that dies without the company of good men, puts not himself into a good way.

Who hath no head, needs no heart.

Who hath no haste in his business, mountains to him seem valleys.

Speak not of my debts, unless you mean to pay them.

He that is not in the wars, is not out of danger.

He that gives me small gifts, would have me live.

He that is his own counsellor, knows nothing sure but what he hath laid out.

He that hath lands, hath quarrels.

He that goes to bed thirsty, riseth healthy.

Who will make a door of gold, must knock a nail every day.

A trade is better than service.

He that lives in hope, danceth without music.

To review one's store is to mow twice.

Saint Luke was a saint and a physician, yet is dead.

Without business, debauchery.

Without danger we cannot get beyond danger.

Health and sickness surely are men's double enemies.

If gold knew what gold is, gold would get gold, I wist.

Little losses amaze, great, tame.

Choose none for thy servant who have served thy betters.

Service without reward is punishment.

If the husband be not at home, there is nobody.

An oath that is not to be made, is not to be kept.

The eye is bigger than the belly.

If you would be at ease, all the world is not.

Were it not for the bone in the leg, all the world would turn carpenters (to make them crutches).

If you must fly, fly well.

All that shakes falls not.

All beasts of prey are strong, or treacherous.

If the brain sows not corn, it plants thistles.

A man well mounted is ever choleric.

Every one is a master and servant.

A piece of a church-yard fits every body.

One mouth doth nothing without another.

A master of straw eats a servant of steel.

An old cat sports not with her prey.

A woman conceals what she knows not.

He that wipes the child's nose, kisseth the mother's cheek.*

Gentility is nothing but ancient riches.

To go where the king goes afoot; i. e. to the stool.

* The proverbs which follow were added to the second edition.

To go upon the Franciscans' hackney; i. e. on foot.

Amiens was taken by the fox, and retaken by the lion.

After death the doctor.

Ready money is a ready medicine.

It is the philosophy of the distaff.

It is a sheep of Beery, it is marked on the nose: applied to those that have a blow.

To build castles in Spain.

An idle youth, a needy age.

Silk doth quench the fire in the kitchen.

The words ending in *ique*, do mock the physician; as hectique, paralitique, apoplectique, lethargique.

He that trusts much obliges much, says the Spaniard.

He that thinks amiss, concludes worse.

A man would live in Italy (a place of pleasure), but he would choose to die in Spain, where they say the Catholic religion is professed with greatest strictness.

Whatsoever was the father of a disease, an ill diet was the mother.

Frenzy, heresy, and jealousy, seldom cured.

There is no heat of affection but is joined with some idleness of brain, says the Spaniard.

The war is not done so long as my enemy lives.

Some evils are cured by contempt.

Power seldom grows old at court.

Danger itself the best remedy for danger.

Favour will as surely perish as life.

Fear the beadle of the law.

Heresy is the school of pride.

For the same man to be a heretic and a good subject, is incompossible.

Heresy may be easier kept out, than shook off.

Infants' manners are moulded more by the example of parents, than by stars at their nativities.

They favour learning whose actions are worthy of a learned pen.

Modesty sets off one newly come to honour.

No naked man is sought after to be rifled.

There is no such conquering weapon as the necessity of conquering.

Nothing secure unless suspected.

No tie can oblige the perfidious.

Spies are the ears and eyes of princes.

The life of spies is to know, not be known.

Religion a stalking horse to shoot other fowl.

It is a dangerous fire begins in the bed straw.

Covetousness breaks the bag.

Fear keeps and looks to the vineyard, and not the owner.

The noise is greater than the nuts.

Two sparrows on one ear of corn make an ill agreement.

The world is now a-days, God save the conqueror.

Unsound minds, like unsound bodies, if you feed, you poison.

Not only ought fortune to be pictured on a wheel, but every thing else in this world.

All covet, all lose.

Better is one Accipe, than twice to say, Dabo tibi.

An ass endures his burden, but not more than his burden.

Threatened men eat bread, says the Spaniard.

The beads in the hand, and the devil in capuch; or, cape of the cloak.

He that will do thee a good turn, either he will be gone or die.

I escaped the thunder, and fell into the lightning.

A man of a great memory without learning, hath a rock and a spindle, and no staff to spin.

The death of wolves is the safety of the sheep.

He that is once born, once must die.

He that hath but one eye, must be afraid to lose it.

He that makes himself a sheep, shall be eat by the wolf.

He that steals an egg, will steal an ox.

He that will be surety, shall pay.

He that is afraid of leaves, goes not to the wood.

In the mouth of a bad dog falls often a good bone.

Those that God loves, do not live long.

Still fisheth he that catcheth one.

All flesh is not venison.

A city that parleys is half gotten.

A dead bee maketh no honey.

An old dog barks not in vain.

They that hold the greatest farms, pay the least rent: applied to rich men that are unthankful to God.

Old camels carry young camels' skins to the market.

He that hath time and looks for better time, time comes that he repents himself of time.

Words and feathers the wind carries away.

Of a pig's tail you can never make a good shaft.

The bath of the blackamoor hath sworn not to whiten.

To a greedy eating horse a short halter.

The devil divides the world between atheism and superstition.

Such a saint, such an offering.

We do it soon enough, if that we do be well.

Cruelty is more cruel, if we defer the pain.

What one day gives us, another takes away from us.

To seek in a sheep five feet when there are but four.

A scabbed horse cannot abide the comb.

God strikes with his finger, and not with all his arm.

God gives his wrath by weight, and without weight his mercy.

Of a new prince, new bondage.

New things are fair.

Fortune to one is mother, to another is stepmother.

There is no man, though never so little, but sometimes he can hurt.

The horse that draws after him his halter, is not altogether escaped.

We must recoil a little, to the end we may leap the better.

No love is foul, nor prison fair.

No day so clear, but hath dark clouds.

No hair so small, but hath his shadow.

A wolf will never make war against another wolf.

We must love, as looking one day to hate.

It is good to have some friends both in heaven and hell.

It is very hard to shave an egg.

It is good to hold the ass by the bridle.

The healthful man can give counsel to the sick.

The death of a young wolf doth never come too soon.

The rage of a wild boar is able to spoil more than one wood.

Virtue flies from the heart of a mercenary man.

The wolf eats oft of the sheep that have been warned.

The mouse that hath but one hole is quickly taken.

To play at chess when the house is on fire.

The itch of disputing is the scab of the church.

Follow not truth too near the heels, lest it dash out thy teeth.

Either wealth is much increased, or moderation is much decayed.

Say to pleasure, Gentle Eve, I will none of your apple.

When war begins, then hell openeth.

There is a remedy for every thing, could men find it.

There is an hour wherein a man might be happy all his life, could he find it.

Great fortune brings with it great misfortune.

A fair day in winter is the mother of a storm.

Woe be to him that reads but one book.

Tithe, and be rich.

Take heed of:

- The wrath of a mighty man, and the tumult of the people.
- Mad folks in a narrow place.
- Credit decayed, and people that have nothing.
- A young wench, a prophetess, and a Latin-bred woman.
- A person marked, and a widow thrice married.
- Foul dirty ways, and long sickness.
- Wind that comes in at a hole, and a reconciled enemy.
- A step-mother; the very name of her sufficeth.

Princes are venison in heaven.

Critics are like brushers of noblemen's clothes.

He is a great necromancer, for he asks counsel of the dead: i. e. books.

A man is known to be mortal by two things, sleep and lust.

Love without end, hath no end, says the Spaniard: meaning, if it were not begun on particular ends, it would last.

Stay a while, that we may make an end the sooner.

Presents of love fear not to be ill taken of strangers.

To seek these things is lost labour: geese in an oil pot, fat hogs among Jews, and wine in a fishing net.

Some men plant an opinion they seem to eradicate.

The philosophy of princes is to dive into the secrets of men, leaving the secrets of nature to those that have spare time.

States have their conversions and periods as well as natural bodies.

Great deservers grow intolerable presumers.

The love of money and the love of learning rarely meet.

Trust no friend with that you need, fear him if he were your enemy.

Some had rather lose their friend than their jest.

Marry your daughters betimes, lest they marry themselves.

Soldiers in peace are like chimneys in summer.

Here is a talk of the Turk and the Pope, but my next neighbour doth me more harm than either of them both.

Civil wars of France made a million of atheists, and thirty thousand witches.

We bachelors laugh and show our teeth, but you married men laugh till your hearts ache.

The devil never assails a man except he find him either void of knowledge, or of the fear of God.

There is nobody will go to hell for company.

Much money makes a country poor, for it sets a dearer price on every thing.

The virtue of a coward is suspicion.

A man's destiny is always dark.

Every man's censure is first moulded in his own nature.

Money wants no followers.

Your thoughts close, and your countenance loose.

Whatever is made by the hand of man, by the hand of man may be overturned.

LETTERS OF GEORGE HERBERT.

I. FROM GEORGE HERBERT TO MR. H. HERBERT.*

1618.

BROTHER,

THE disease which I am troubled with now is the shortness of time, for it hath been my fortune of late to have such sudden warning, that I have not leisure to impart unto you some of those observations which I have framed to myself in conversation; and whereof I would not have you ignorant. As I shall find occasion, you

* Henry Herbert was the sixth son of Richard Herbert, esq. and Magdalen Newport, daughter of Sir Richard Newport, and born A.D. 1660. His brother, Lord Herbert of Cherbury, in his curious history of his own life, has made the following mention of Henry: "Henry, after he had been brought up in learning, as the other brothers were, was sent by his friends into France, where he attained the language of that country in perfection, after which he came to Court, and was made Gentleman of the King's Privy Chamber, and Master of the Revels; by which means, as also by a good marriage, he attained to great fortunes, for himself and his posterity to enjoy. He also hath given several proofs of his courage in duels, and otherwise, being no less dextrous in the ways of the Court, as having gotten much by it."

shall receive them by pieces; and if there be any such which you have found useful to yourself, communicate them to me. You live in a brave nation, where, except you wink, you cannot but see many brave examples. Be covetous, then, of all good which you see in Frenchmen, whether it be in knowledge, or in fashion, or in words: for I would have you, even in speeches, to observe so much, as when you meet with a witty French speech, try to speak the like in English: so shall you play a good merchant, by transporting French commodities to your own country. Let there be no kind of excellency which it is possible for you to attain to, which you seek not; and have a good conceit of your wit, mark what I say, have a good conceit of your wit; that is, be proud, not with a foolish vaunting of yourself when there is no cause, but by setting a just price of your qualities: and it is the part of a poor spirit to undervalue himself and blush. But I am out of my time: when I have more time, you shall hear more; and write you freely to me in your letters, for I am your ever loving brother, G. Herbert.

P. S. My brother is somewhat of the same temper, and perhaps a little more mild, but you will hardly perceive it.

To my dear brother,
Mr. Henry Herbert, at Paris.

II. TO SIR HENRY HERBERT.

Dear Brother,

IT is so long since I heard from you, that I long to hear both how you and your's do: and also what becomes of you this summer. It is the whole amount of this letter, and therefore entertain it accordingly from

Your very affectionate brother,

G. Herbert.

7 June, Bemerton.

My wife's and nieces' service to you.

III.

Dear Brother,

I WAS glad of your Cambridge news, but you joyed me exceedingly with your relation of my Lady Duchess's forwardness in our church building. I am glad I used you in it, and you have no cause to be sorry, since it is God's business. If there fall out yet any rub, you shall hear of me; and your offering of yourself to move my Lords of Manchester and Bolingbroke is very welcome to me. To show a forwardness in religious works is a good testimony

of a good spirit. The LORD bless you, and make you abound in every good work, to the joy of your ever loving brother,

G. HERBERT.

March 21, Bemerton.

To my dear brother,
Sir Henry Herbert, at Court.

IV.

DEAR BROTHER,

THAT you did not only entertain my proposals, but advance them, was lovingly done, and like a good brother. Yet truly it was none of my meaning, when I wrote, to put one of our nieces into your hands, but barely what I wrote I meant, and no more; and am glad that although you offer more, yet you will do, as you write, that also. I was desirous to put a good mind into the way of charity, and that was all I intended. For concerning your offer of receiving one, I will tell you what I wrote to our eldest brother, when he urged one upon me, and but one, and that at my choice. I wrote to him that I would have both or neither; and that upon this ground, because they were to come into an unknown country, tender in knowledge, sense, and age, and knew none but one who could be no company to them. Therefore I considered that if one only came, the comfort intended would prove a dis-

comfort. Since that I have seen the fruit of my observation, for they have lived so lovingly, lying, eating, walking, praying, working, still together, that I take a comfort therein; and would not have to part them yet, till I take some opportunity to let them know your love, for which both they shall, and I do, thank you. It is true there is a third sister, whom to receive were the greatest charity of all, for she is youngest, and least looked unto; having none to do it but her school-mistress, and you know what those mercenary creatures are. Neither hath she any to repair unto at good times, as Christmas, &c. which, you know, is the encouragement of learning all the year after, except my cousin Bett take pity of her, which yet at that distance is some difficulty. If you could think of taking her, as once you did, surely it were a great good deed, and I would have her conveyed to you. But I judge you not: do that which God shall put into your heart, and the Lord bless all your purposes to his glory. Yet, truly if you take her not, I am thinking to do it, even beyond my strength; especially at this time, being more beggarly now than I have been these many years, as having spent two hundred pounds in building; which to me that have nothing yet, is very much. But though I both consider this, and your observation, also, of the unthankfulness of kindred bred up, (which generally is very true,) yet I care not; I forget all things, so I may do them good who

want it. So I do my part to them, let them think of me what they will or can. I have another judge, to whom I stand or fall. If I should regard such things, it were in another's power to defeat my charity, and evil should be stronger than good: but difficulties are so far from cooling christians, that they whet them. Truly it grieves me to think of the child, how destitute she is, and that in this necessary time of education. For the time of breeding is the time of doing children good; and not as many who think they have done fairly, if they leave them a good portion after their decease. But take this rule, and it is an outlandish one, which I commend to you as being now a father, "the best-bred child hath the best portion." Well; the good God bless you more and more; and all yours; and make your family a houseful of God's servants. So prays

Your ever loving brother,

G. Herbert.

My wife's and nieces' service.

To my very dear brother
Sir Henry Herbert, at Court.

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* Elizabeth, wife of Sir Henry Jones. The latter part of her life, we are told by her brother, Lord Herbert, was most sickly and miserable; she pined "away to skin and bones"

LETTERS WRITTEN AT CAMBRIDGE.

From the Appendix to Walton's Life.

V. FOR MY DEAR SICK SISTER.*

MOST DEAR SISTER,

THINK not my silence forgetfulness; or that my love is as dumb as my papers; though business may stop my hand, yet my heart, a much better member, is always with you: and which is more, with our good and gracious God, incessantly begging some ease of your pains, with that earnestness, that becomes your griefs, and my love. God who knows and sees this writing, knows also that my soliciting him has been much, and my tears many for you; judge me then by those waters, and not by my ink, and then you shall justly value your most truly, most heartily, affectionate brother and servant,

GEORGE HERBERT.

Trinity College, December 6, 1620.

VI. TO SIR J. D.†

SIR,

THOUGH I had the best wit in the world, yet it would easily tire me to find out variety

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for nearly fourteen years, and at last died in London, worn out by pain and affliction.

† This and the following letters were probably addressed to Sir John Danvers, Herbert's father-in-law.

of thanks for the diversity of your favours, if I sought to do so; but, I profess it not: and therefore let it be sufficient for me, that the same heart, which you have won long since, is still true to you, and hath nothing else to answer your infinite kindnesses, but a constancy of obedience; only hereafter I will take heed how I propose my desires unto you, since I find you so willing to yield to my requests; for, since your favours come a-horseback, there is reason, that my desires should go a-foot; neither do I make any question, but that you have performed your kindness to the full, and that the horse is every way fit for me, and I will strive to imitate the completeness of your love, with being in some proportion, and after my manner, your most obedient servant,

GEORGE HERBERT.

VII.

SIR,

I DARE no longer be silent, lest while I think I am modest, I wrong both myself, and also the confidence my friends have in me; wherefore I will open my case unto you, which I think deserves the reading at the least; and it is this, I want books extremely; you know, Sir, how I am now setting foot into divinity, to lay the platform of my future life, and shall I then be fain always to borrow books, and build on another's foundation? What tradesman is there who will set up without his tools? Pardon my boldness, Sir, it is a most

serious case, nor can I write coldly in that, wherein consisteth the making good of my former education, of obeying that Spirit which hath guided me hitherto, and of achieving my (I dare say) holy ends. This also is aggravated, in that I apprehend what my friends would have been forward to say, if I had taken ill courses, Follow your book, and you shall want nothing: you know, Sir, it is their ordinary speech, and now let them make it good; for since I hope I have not deceived their expectation, let not them deceive mine; but perhaps they will say, You are sickly, you must not study too hard; it is true (God knows) I am weak, yet not so, but that every day, I may step one step towards my journey's end; and I love my friends so well, as that if all things proved not well, I had rather the fault should lie on me, than on them; but they will object again, What becomes of your annuity? Sir, if there be any truth in me, I find it little enough to keep me in health. You know I was sick last vacation, neither am I yet recovered, so that I am fain ever and anon, to buy somewhat tending towards my health; for infirmities are both painful and costly. Now this Lent I am forbid utterly to eat any fish, so that I am fain to diet in my chamber at mine own cost; for in our public halls, you know, is nothing but fish and white-meats: out of Lent, also twice a week, on Fridays and Saturdays, I must do so, which yet sometimes I fast. Sometimes also I ride to Newmarket, and there lie a day or two for fresh air; all which tend to avoiding of costlier

matters, if I should fall absolutely sick: I protest and vow, I even study thrift, and yet I am scarce able with much ado to make one half year's allowance shake hands with the other: and yet if a book of four or five shillings come in my way, I buy it, though I fast for it; yea, sometimes of ten shillings: but, alas Sir, what is that to those infinite volumes of divinity, which yet every day swell, and grow bigger? Noble Sir, pardon my boldness, and consider but these three things. First, the bulk of divinity. Secondly, the time when I desire this (which is now, when I must lay the foundation of my whole life). Thirdly, what I desire, and to what end, not vain pleasures, nor to a vain end. If then, Sir, there be any course, either by engaging my future annuity, or any other way, I desire you, Sir, to be my mediator to them in my behalf.

Now I write to you, Sir, because to you I have ever opened my heart: and have reason, by the patents of your perpetual favour to do so still, for I am sure you love your faithfullest servant,

GEORGE HERBERT.

Trinity College, March 18, 1617.

VIII.

SIR,

THIS week hath loaded me with your favours; I wish I could have come in person to thank you, but it is not possible; presently after Michaelmas, I am to make an oration to the whole univer-

sity of an hour long in latin, and my Lincoln journey hath set me much behind hand: neither can I so much as go to Bugden, and deliver your letter, yet have I sent it thither by a faithful messenger this day: I beseech you all, you and my dear mother and sister to pardon me, for my Cambridge necessities are stronger to tie me here, than yours to London: if I could possibly have come, none should have done my message to Sir Fr: Nethersole for me; he and I are ancient acquaintance, and I have a strong opinion of him, that if he can do me a courtesy, he will of himself; yet your appearing in it, affects me strangely. I have sent you here inclosed a letter from our master on my behalf, which if you can send to Sir Francis before his departure, it will do well, for it expresseth the university's inclination to me; yet if you cannot send it with much convenience, it is no matter, for the gentleman needs no incitation to love me.

The orator's place (that you may understand what it is) is the finest place in the university, though not the gainfullest; yet that will be about £30 per annum, but the commodiousness is beyond the revenue; for the orator writes all the university letters, makes all the orations, be it to King, Prince, or whatever comes to the university; to requite these pains, he takes place next the doctors, is at all their assemblies and meetings, and sits above the proctors, is regent, or non-regent at his pleasure, and such like gaynesses, which will please a young man well.

I long to hear from Sir Francis, I pray Sir send the letter you receive from him to me as soon as you can, that I may work the heads to my purpose. I hope I shall get this place without all your London helps, of which I am very proud, not but that I joy in your favours, but that you may see. that if all fail, yet I am able to stand on mine own legs. Noble Sir, I thank you for your infinite favours, I fear only that I have omitted some fitting circumstance, yet you will pardon my haste, which is very great, though never so, but that I have both time and work to be your extreme servant,

GEORGE HERBERT.

IX.

SIR,

I HAVE received the things you sent me, safe; and now the only thing I long for, is to hear of my dear sick sister: first, how her health fares, next, whether my peace be yet made with her concerning my unkind departure. Can I be so happy, as to hear of both these that they succeed well? Is it not too much for me? Good Sir, make it plain to her, that I loved her even in my departure, in looking to her son, and my charge. I suppose she is not disposed to spend her eye-sight on a piece of paper, or else I had wrote to her; when I shall understand that a letter will be seasonable, my pen is ready. Concerning the orator's place all goes well yet, the next Friday it is tried,

and accordingly you shall hear. I have forty businesses in my hands: your courtesy will pardon the haste of your humblest servant,

GEORGE HERBERT.

Trinity College, January 19, 1619.

X.

SIR,

I UNDERSTAND by Sir Francis Nethersole's letter, that he fears I have not fully resolved of the matter, since this place being civil may divert me too much from divinity, at which, not without cause, he thinks I aim: but, I have wrote him back, that this dignity hath no such earthiness in it, but it may very well be joined with heaven: or if it had to others, yet to me it should not, for aught I yet knew; and therefore I desire him to send me a direct answer in his next letter. I pray Sir therefore, cause this enclosed to be carried to his brother's house of his own name (as I think) at the sign of the Pedlar and the Pack on London Bridge, for there he assigns me. I cannot yet find leisure to write to my Lord, or Sir Benjamin Ruddyard; but I hope I shall shortly, though for the reckoning of your favours, I shall never find time and paper enough, yet am I your readiest servant,

GEORGE HERBERT.

Trinity College, October 6, 1619.

I remember my most humble duty to my mother,

who cannot think me lazy, since I rode 200 miles to see a sister, in a way I knew not, in the midst of much business, and all in a fortnight, not long since.

XI. TO THE TRULY NOBLE SIR J. D.

SIR,

I UNDERSTAND by a letter from my brother Henry, that he hath bought a parcel of books for me, and that they are coming over. Now though they have hitherto travelled upon your charge, yet if my sister were acquainted that they are ready, I dare say she would make good her promise of taking five or six pounds upon her, which she hath hitherto deferred to do, not of herself, but upon the want of those books which were not to be got in England; for that which surmounts, though your noble disposition is infinitely free, yet I had rather fly to my old ward, that if any course could be taken of doubling my annuity now, upon condition that I should surcease from all title to it, after I entered into a benefice, I should be most glad to entertain it, and both pay for the surplusage of these books, and for ever after cease my clamorous and greedy bookish requests. It is high time now that I should be no more a burden to you, since I can never answer what I have already received; for your favours are so ancient, that they prevent my memory, and yet still grow upon your humblest servant, GEORGE HERBERT.

I remember my most humble duty to my mother. I have wrote to my dear sick sister this week already, and therefore now I hope may be excused.

I pray, Sir, pardon my boldness of inclosing my brother's letter in yours, for it was because I know your lodging, but not his.

XII. TO THE RIGHT HON. LADY ANNE, COUNTESS OF PEMBROKE AND MONTGOMERY, AT COURT.

MADAM,

WHAT a trouble hath your goodness brought on you, by admitting our poor services! now they creep in a vessel of Metheglin, and still they will be presenting or wishing to see, if at length they may find out something not unworthy of those hands at which they aim. In the mean time a priest's blessing, though it be none of the court style, yet, doubtless, Madam, can do you no hurt: wherefore the Lord make good the blessing of your mother upon you, and cause all her wishes, diligence, prayers and tears, to bud, blow, and bear fruit in your soul, to his glory, your own good, and the great joy of, madam, your most faithful servant in Christ Jesu,

GEORGE HERBERT.

Dec. 10. 1631. Bemerton.

Madam, your poor colony of servants present their humble duties.

LETTERS OF GEORGE HERBERT

FROM THE PUBLIC ORATOR'S BOOK, CAMBRIDGE.

I. AD R. NAUNTON, Secret.

GRATIÆ DE FLUVIO.

Vir Honoratissime,

QUANTA Hilaritate aspicit Alma Mater filios suos jam emancipatos, conservantes sibi Illos Fontes, a quibus ipsi olim hauserunt? Quis enim sicca ubera et mammas arentes tam nobilis parentis, æquo animo ferre posset? neque sane dubitamus ulli, si præ defectu aquæ commeatusque inopia desererentur collegia, pulcherrimæque Musarum domus tanquam viduæ effœtæ, aut ligna exucca et marcida, alumnis suis orbarentur, quin communes Reipublicæ Lachrymæ alterum nobis Fluvium effunderent. Quare plurimum debemus constantiæ favoris tui qui restinxisti sitim exarescentium Musarum et Xerxes istos, alterosque maris quasi flagellatores expugnatos, fusosque nobis dedisti. Quid enim invident aquas, quas non nobis habemus sed irrigati ipsi universum regnum aspergimus. Sed aliorum injuriæ tuarum Virtutum pabula sunt, qui lemas istas et festucas, Reipublicæ oculo hærentes tam diligenter amoves; certè adeo festinasti ad gratitudines tuas cum emolumento nostro conjunctas, ut jam compensemur abundè, neque amplius quærendum sit Tibi, Almæ Nutrici quid reponas.

II. AD FUL. GREVIL.

GRATIÆ DE FLUVIO.

VIR HONORATISSIME,

SCITE et appositè fecisti Fluvium nostrum conservans altero eloquentiæ Fluvio, paludumque istos siccatores, (solem officio suo privantes) vi verborum Tuorum obruens. Neque sane quisquam incedit Te instructior ad omnem causam, paratiorve sive a doctrina, sive ab usu; utrinque mirus es et exercitatissimus: quare nos tertium prædictis adjungimus Gratiarum Fluvium, de humanitate tua singulari, studioque in nos jam olim perspectissimo, quippè qui eximiè semper fovisti literatos, eosque cum tineis et blattis rixantes, exuens pulvere in theatrum et lucem produxisti. Tantum rogamus, ut pergas, et inter novos honorum cumulos, quod expectamus indies futurum, Almæ Matris amorem tecum simul evehas. Interim, si qui alii exurgant promissores magnifici et hiantes, qui sub specie publici commodi, Academiæ incommodum videntur allaturi; os importunorum hominum Authoritate tuâ plurimâ et Eloquentiâ non minori nobis obstrue.

III. AD. R. NAUNTON.

GRATIÆ DE FLUVIO ET DE TEGENDIS TECTIS STRAMINEIS.

VIR HONORATISSIME,

EXIMIA tua in nos merita frequentiorem calamum postulant, si tantum honori Tuo superesset otii ad legendum, quantum a nobis ad scribendum, cum hu-

manitatis Tuæ, tum gratitudinis nostræ ratio postulat. Sed Veremur, ne literæ nostræ animo Tuo tot negotiis meritissimè distincto, tempore non suo obrepant: tibique non tam avidè veterum beneficiorum memoriam recolenti, quam cogitanti nova improbè molestiam creent. Quare conjunximus nunc officia nostra, tuosque favores temporibus et diligentiâ divisos in gratiis nostris copulavimus: nam utramque illam curam insignem, tam de conservando Fluvio nostro, quam de muniendis contra grassantes flammas ædificiis Honori Tuo acceptam ferimus: plurimumque suspicimus cumulum Amoris Tui, qui utrumque curasti, ut neque sitirent Musæ, neque flagrarent: quod si tam integrum tibi esset gratificari nobis in terrâ et aere, quam in aquâ et igne fecisti, non dubitamus quin benignitas tua omnia elementa percurreret. Tu vero macte honoribus, gloria, id enim nostrâ interest, ut hoc precemur, aut enim miserè fallimur aut tantum de nullo unquam Filio Alma Mater, quantum de Te sibi polliceatur.

IV. GRATULATIO DE MARCHIONATU AD BUCKING. C. A. D. 1619.

Illustrissime Domine,

ECQUID inter tot gloriæ titulos caput undique munientes meministi magistrum Te esse Artium? an inter lauros principis hederæ nostræ ambitiosæ locus est? hunc quidem gradum pignus habes amoris nostri, hæc est ansa quâ prehendimus Te, et tanquam aquilam inter novas honorum nubes e conspectu nostro fugientem revocamus. Tu vicissim abundè compensas nos, gratissimoque Almam Matrem prosequeris animo: proin ut Fluvii quas aquas a Fonte accipiunt non retinent ipsi,

sed in mare dimittunt; Sic Tu etiam dignitates ab optimo Rege desumptas in universam Rempublicam diffundis: per Te illucet nobis Jacobus noster. Tu aperis illum populo et cum ipse sis in summâ arbore, alterâ manu prehendis Regem, alteram nobis ad radices hærentibus porrigis: Quare, meritissime Marchio, Tuam gloriam censemus nostram et in honoribus Tuis nostro bono gratulamur; quanquam quem alium fructum potuimus expectare ab Eo in quem favor Regius, nostra vota virtutes tantæ confluxerunt: inter quæ etiam certamen oritur et pia contentio, utrum gratia Principis virtutes tuas, aut nostra vota gratiam Principis, aut Tuæ virtutes et vota nostra et Principis gratiam superarent. Nimirum ut lineæ quamvis diversa via, omnes tamen ad centrum properant. Sic disparatæ fœlicitates hinc a populo illinc a Principe in Te conveniunt, et confabulantur. Quare quomodo alii molem hanc lætitiæ suæ exprimant, ipsi viderint: nos certè precamur, ut neque virtutibus tuis desint honores neque utrisque vita, usquedum, postquam omnes honorum gradus hic percurreris, æternum illud præmium consequare, cui neque addi quicquam potest, neque detrahi.

V. AD F. BACON, Cancell.

GRATIÆ DE INSTAURATIONIS LIBRO ACADEMIÆ DONATO. 4 NOV. 1620.

Illustrissime Domine,

PROLEM tuam suavissimam, nuper in lucem publicam, nostramque præsertim, editam non gremio solum (quod innuis) sed et ambabus ulnis, osculisque, ei ætati debitis excipientes, protinus tanquam Nobilem

Filium (more nostro) magistrum artium renunciavimus. Optimè enim hoc convenit Partui tuo, qui novas Scientiarum regiones, terrasque veteribus incognitas primus demonstrat; ex quo illustrius assecutus es nomen, quam repertores novi orbis compararunt. Illi terram invenerunt, crassissimum elementum; Tu subtilitates artium infinitas. Illi barbara omnia, Tu non nisi cultissima, elegantiasque ipsas exhibes. Illi magneticâ acu freti sunt. Tu penetrantiori intellectus acumine, cujus nisi incredibilis fuisset vis, nunquam in tantis negotiis, quibus meritissime districtus es, ea quæ fugerunt tot philosophos umbrâ et otio diffluentes, eruisses. Quare multiplex est lætitia nostra; primò gratulamur optimo Regi nostro, qui prospicit, ut cum ipse eruditionis Princeps sit, illi etiam honores qui finitimi sunt, et quasi accolæ Majestatis, literaturæ suæ, et vicinitati respondeant: dein Hon. Tuo gratulamur, qui filio auctus es tali ingenio prædito: tum Academiæ nostræ, quæ per Tuum Partum, ex Matre nunc Avia facta est; denique huic ætati quæ talem virum protulit, cum quinque millibus annorum de palmâ certantem. Id unum dolemus, Bibliothecam nostram rudiorem esse impexioremque, quam ut tantum Hospitem excipiat: utcunque cum olim ab *Archiepiscopo Eboracensi Summo Angliæ Cancellario extructa fuerit: illam nunc denuò ex ædibus Eboracensibus ab altero Cancellario Instaurari, inter Arcana providentiæ planè reponimus. Faxit Deus ut quos profectus feceris in Sphærâ Naturæ, facias etiam in Gratiæ; utque maturè absolvas quæ complexus es animo, ad ejus gloriam, Reipublicæ emolumentum, æternitatem nominis Tui subsidiumque.

Magnificentiæ Tuæ devotissimorum
Procancellarii
Reliq.

* Rotheram.

VI. AD T. COVENTRY, Attorn.

COGNITOR. GRATULATIO, 29 JAN. 1620.

Clarissime Vir,

PERMITTE ut nos etiam in prædam partemque tecum veniamus: neque enim sic effugies cum honoribus, quin lætitia nostra te assequetur: certè non diu est ex quo gratulati sumus tibi; eccum nunc altera occasio, adeo festinat virtus tua: quod si tertia detur et quarta, paratos nos habebis ad gratulationem, ut sic una opera utriusque Reipublicæ calculum et civilis et literariæ adipiscaris. Tu verò promptitudinem amoris nostri non passim expositam boni consulas, curesque ut tuus in nos amor antehac satis perspectus, nunc cum honore geminetur. Quod si forense quippiam nos spectans, dum incumbis muneri, occurrat, nos chartis et æternitate occupatos, temporariis hisce negotiolis libera. Haud frustrà impendes operam nobis, omnia favorum tuorum momenta apicesque perpensuris et compensaturis.

VII. AD R. NAUNT. Burgen. Elect.

13 JAN. 1620.

Honoratissime Domine,

TAM eximie de nobis meritus es, ut res nostras omnes cum honore Tuo conjunctas esse velimus. Quare frequentissimo Senatu, plenissimus suffragiis elegimus Te tribunum Parliamentarium nos nostraque omnia privilegia, fundos, ædificia, universam Musarum supellectilem, etiam Fluvium non minus de præterito

gratum, quam de futuro supplicem, integerrimæ tuæ fidei commendantes. Magna est hæc neque quotidianæ virtutis provincia gerere personam Academiæ, omniumque Artium molem et pondus sustinere, sed perspectissimus tuus in nos amor præstantissimæque animi dotes effecerunt, ut Alma Mater libentissimè caput reclinet in tuo sinu, oculusque Reipub. postquam circumspiciens reperisset Te, quasi in tuis palpebris acquiescat. Quare nos omnes ad prudentiæ eloquentiæque tuæ præsidium festinantes excipe: Antiquitas præripuit Tibi gloriam extruendæ Academiæ, reliquit conservandæ. Deus faveat Tibi et concedat ut terrestres tui honores cum cœlestibus certent et superentur.

VIII. GRATULATIO AD MOUNTAG. Thesaurar.

18 dec. 1620.

Illustrissime Domine,

PENDULAM hanc dignitatem diu expectantem magnas aliquas virtutes tandem meritis tuis votisque nostris conspirantibus obtinuisti. Quis enim rectiùs Thesauris Regiis præfici possit, quam qui justitiam prius tanto cum honore atque acclamatione administrans, distribuendi modum omnem rationemque callet? Et licet, quo proprior sis Regi, eò videaris nobis remotior, confidimus tamen ut arbores quanto altius crescunt, tanto etiam altius agunt radices: sic merita tua ita ascensura, ut eorum vis et virtus ad nos descendat. Quarè summè gratulamur tibi de novo hoc cumulo honorum, qui tamen votis nostris nondum respondent. Ea est enim pertinacia desideriorum nostrorum, atque immortalitas, ut semper post novas dignitates, alias tibi quærant et moliantur. Nimirum id assecuta sunt merita Tua maxima,

ut Almam Matrem spe novâ gravidam semper atque prægnante effecerint. Tantum quocunque Domine ascendas, sume tecum amorem illum quo soles beare

Amplitudini tuæ devotissimos
Procancellarium.
Rel.

IX. GRATULATIO AD HEATH, Sollicitor. Procurator. 29 jan. 1620.

Vir Dignissime,

SIC a natura comparatum est, ignis et virtus semper ascendunt, utriusque enim splendor et claritas humilia loca deprecantur. Quare optime fecit Rex Serenissimus, qui virtutes tuas magnis negotiis et pares provexit, noluitque ut minori Sphærâ quam pro latitudine meritorum tuorum circumscribereris. Nos verò de hoc tuo progressu non minus Reipublicæ gratulamur quàm tibi, rogamusque ut quando beneficia tua pervagantur Angliam, nos etiam invisant: ita excipiemus illa, ut benignius hospitium, et erga te propensius, haud usquàm forsitan reperias.

X. [JACOBO REGI] GRATIÆ DE SCRIPTIS SUIS ACADEMIÆ DONATIS.

18 maii, 1620.

Serenissime Domine Noster,
Jacobe Invictissime.

ECQUID inter tantas mundi trepidationes nobis et Musis vacas? O prudentiam incomparabilem, quæ eodem vultu et moderatur mundum et nos respicit.

Circumspice, si placet, terrarum reges, mutus est mundus universus, vestra solùm dextra (quamvis à scriptione terrestribusque istis sublimitate solii asserta) vitâ et actione orbem vegetat. Angustior erat Scotia, quam ut pennas nido plenè explicare posses: quid Tu inde? Britannicas insulas omnes occupasti: hoc etiam imperium tenuius est quam pro amplitudine virtutum vestrarum; nunc itaque Liber hic vester dilatat pomœria, summovet Oceanum ambientem, adeo ut qui non subjiciuntur ditioni, eruditioni vestræ obtemperent: per hunc imperas orbi universo, victoriæque gloriam, absque crudelitate effusi sanguinis delibas. Hæc vestra spolia, actosque ex orbe triumphos communicas cum Almâ Matre, utrumque splendorem cum beneficio nostro conjungis: sane, gestabaris antea in cordibus nostris; sed Tu vis etiam manibus teri, semotâque Majestate, chartâ conspiciendum Te præbes, quo familiariùs inter nos verseris. O, mirificam Clementiam! Ædificarunt olim nobis Serenissimi Reges collegia, eaque fundarunt amplissimis prædiis, immunitatibus; etiam libros dederunt, sed non suos; aut si suos, quia dederunt, non a se compositos, scriptos, editosque: quum tamen Tu invaseris eorum gloriam conservando nobis quæ illi dederunt, etiam augendo; interim vestrâ hac scribendi laude intactâ manente atque illibatâ. Cujus favoris magnitudo ita involvit nos, ut etiam rependendi vias omnes præcludat. Quæ enim alia spes reliqua erat, quam ut pro infinitis vestris in nos beneficiis Majestatem vestram æternitati in scriptis nostris certissimè traderemus? Nunc vero Ipse, scribendo irrupisti in compensationes nostras, et abstulisti: adeon' es prædo omnis gloriæ, ut ne gratitudinis laudem nobis reliqueris? Quid agimus? hoc saltem solutio est; Nos nunc conspersi atramento regio, nihil non sublime et excelsum cogitabimus,

perrumpemus controversias omnes, superabimus quoscunque. Jam dari nobis vellemus Jesuitam aliquem, ut ex affrictu Libri vestri hominem illico contundamus. Quare amplectimur, fovemus, exosculamur, hunc fœtum vestrum, hunc alterum Carolum, hunc fasciculum Prudentiæ, positum extra mortalitatis aleam, et quo magis Tuum agnoscas, in ipso partu, Librorum regem creatum. Diruuntur ædificia, corrumpuntur statuæ, hæc imago atque character, tempore melior, injurias seculi scriptaque hâc illâc pereuntia securus præterit. Si enim in regno vestro Hibernico lignum nascitur permanens contra omnia venena validum: quanto magis virtutes istæ in Dominum agri transferendæ sunt, ut sic scripta vestra omni dente tum edacis temporis, tum venenatorum hæreticorum, insitâ vi sua liberentur. Quod superest, precamur, S. S. Trinitatem, ut vestræ coronæ civili et literariæ, tertiam cœlestem serò adjungat.

Humillimi servi, subditique vestri
Procancellarius
Reliquusque Senatus
Cantabrigiensis.

Datæ freq. Senatu
XIII° Cal. Jun. A.D.
CIↃ.IↃ.CXX.

Peregrinis Academicis nostram invisentibus.
Quid Vaticanam Bodleiumque objicis, Hospes?
Unicus est nobis Bibliotheca Liber.

XI. GRATIÆ DE FLUVIO CONTRA REDEMPTORES. 1620, JUN. 14.

SERENISSIME DOMINE NOSTER,
JACOBE POTENTISSIME!

INFINITA vestra in nos Beneficia non solum verba omnia, sed etiam cogitationes nostras exhauriunt. Quis enim impetus animi celeritatem tantæ munificen-

tiæ assequi potest? quippe qui universum tempus nostrum (forsitan quo alacrius illud impenderemus Doctrinæ) beneficiis etiam obligasti. Nuper enim dedisti nobis Librum, plenissimum Musarum, quæ cum olim gauderent Fluviis, nunc etiam aquas, in quibus habitant, impertis! Quanta rotunditas Clementiæ vestræ, quæ ab omni parte nobis succurrit! Quod si Artaxerxes olim paululum aquæ a Linæta subjecto suo lætissimè sumeret, quanto magis par est nos, humillimos subjectos, integro Fluvio a Rege nostro donatos, triumphare? Tantum Majestatem vestram subjectissimè oramus, ut si officia nostra minus respondeant magnitudini beneficiorum, imbecillitati id nostræ, quæ fastigium regiarum notionum æquare nunquam potest, non voluntati tribuendum existimes.

XII. AD F. BACON, Cancell.

GRATIÆ DE FLUVIO.

Illustrissime Domine,

SICCAM animam sapientissimam esse dixit obscurus ille philosophus; sane exorti sunt nuperi quidam homines, qui libenter sapientiores nos redderent: sed si ablatus fuisset Fluvius noster, per quem vicini agri opulentiâ fruimur, veremur ne non tam sapientes nos, quam obscuros philosophos reddidissent. Quis enim tunc inviseret Almam Matrem destitutam omni commeatu? opportunè his tenebris Favor Tuus occurrit, illustrans nos omnes, lumenque accendens de suo lumine.

Ut nihilo minus Tibi luceat, cum nobis accenderit. Neque enim passus es illum Fluvium, qui tantæ poeticæ, tantæ eruditionis nobis conscius est, palustri opere et

uliginoso intercipi: cum non est tanti totus ille maritimus tractus (Oceani præda et deliciæ) ut irrigui Musarum horti, floribus suis sternentes Rempublicam, præ ariditate flaccescerent. Sed siccitas anni hujus derisit incœptum et plus effecit quam mille Redemptores exequi possent. Quanquam non mirari non possumus, undè fit ut nullus ferè elabatur dies, qui non hostes aliquos nobis aperiat; quidam stomachantur prædia, alii, immunitates carpunt, nonnulli Fluvium invident, multi Academias integras subversas volunt, neque illi e fæce vulgi tantum qui eruditionem simplicitati Christianæ putant adversam, sed homines nobiliores ignorantiæ, qui literas imminuere spiritus, generososque animos frangere et retundere clamitant. Tu verò Patrone noster, qui elegantias doctrinæ nitoremque spirans, purpuram et eruditionem miscuisti; dilue, fuga hos omnes, præsertim sericatam hanc stultitiam contere, Academiæque jura, dignitatem, Fluvium placidissimo favorum tuorum afflatu nobis tuere: quod quidem non minus expectamus a Te, quem singularis doctrina exemit a populo, et quasi mixtam personam reddidit quam si Episcopi more pristino Cancellis præficerentur.

XIII. AD ARCHIEP. CANTUAR.

DE BIBLIOPOLIS LOND. 29 JAN. 1620.

SANCTISSIME PATER,

CUM cæteræ ecclesiæ tam perspicaci diligentiâ incubes, concede ut nos etiam benignitate alarum tuarum et virtute fruamur; præsertim hoc tempore in quo paucorum avaritia liberalibus artibus dominatura est, nisi humanitas tua,* superiori æstate sponte suavi-

* Ferina missa.

terque patefacta, nunc etiam laborantibus musis succurrat. Ferunt enim Londinenses Bibliopolas suum potius emolumentum quam publicum spectantes, (quæ res et naturæ legibus et hominum summè contraria est) monopoliis quibusdam inhiare, ex quo timemus librorum precia auctum iri, et privilegia nostra imminutum. Nos igitur hoc metu affecti, uti sanguis solet in re dubia ad cor festinare, ita ad Te confugimus primariam partem ecclesiastici corporis, orantes ut quicquid consilii avaritia ceperit adversus aut immunitates nostras aut communè literarum et literatorum commodum, id omne dexterrimâ tuâ in obeundis rebus prudentiâ dissipetur. Deus Opti. Max. tua beneficia, quæ nos solvendo non sumus, in suas tabulas accepti transferat.

XIV. AD FR. BACON, Cancell.

de bibliop. lond. 29 jan. 1620.

Illustrissime Domine,

TU quidem semper Patronus noster es, etiam tacentibus nobis, quantò magis cum rogamus, idque pro Libris de quibus nusquam rectiùs quam apud Te agitur. Accepimus enim Londinenses Librarios omnia transmarina scripta ad monopolium revocare moliri, neque ratione habita chartæ nostræ a Serenissimo Principe Henrico 8° indultæ, neque Studiosorum Sacculi, qui etiam nunc mæret et ingemiscit. Ecquid permittis Domine? Curasti tu quidem Instauratione tua, quo minus exteris Libris indigeremus, sed tamen comparatio et in honorem tuum cedet, nostrumque emolumentum. Quare unicè obsecramus, ut qui tot subsidia attuleris ad progressum doctrinæ, hâc etiam in parte nobis opituleris.

Aspicis multitudinem Librorum indies gliscentem, præsertim in Theologia, cujus Libri si alii aliis (tanquam montes olim) imponerentur, veri simile est, eos illuc quo cognitio ipsa pertingit ascensuros. Quod si et numerus Scriptorum intumescat, et pretium, quæ abyssus crumenæ tantos sumptus æquabit! Jam vero miserum est, pecuniam retardare illam, cui natura spiritum dederit, feracem gloriæ, et cœleste ingenium quasi ad metalla damnari. Qui augent precia Librorum, prosunt vendentibus libros non ementibus, hoc est cessatoribus non studiosis. Hæc tu omnium optimè vides, quare causam nostram nosque ipsos Tibi, Teque Deo Opti. Maxi. intimis precibus commendamus.

XV. GRATULATIO AD F. LEIGH.

CAPITALEM JUSTITIARIUM ANGL. (CAMDEN), 6 FEB. 1620.

Honoratissime Domine,

FAMA promotionis tuæ gratissimè appulit ad nos omnes haud ita certe studiis chartisque obvolutos, quin aures nostræ tibi pateant. Imò prorsus censemus permultum interesse alacritatis publicæ, ut bonorum præmia citissimè promulgentur, quo suavius virtutibus, tuo exemplo compensatis, unum omnes incumbamus. Quare tam verè quam libenter gratulamur tibi, nec minus etiam Reipublicæ, quam hunc pleno gradu ingrediens beneficiis tuis percurres. Nos etiam haud minimam favoris tui partem speramus, orantes ut immunitates nostræ a serenissimis Regibus concessæ ab Augustissimo Jacobo auctæ tuâ operâ conserventur; eadem manus et tuum tibi largitus est honorem, et privilegia nostra confirmavit; in quâ dextrâ et fide conjuncti, in cæteris haud divella-

mur. Quod si oppidani nostri (more suo) Musarum jura et diplomata arrodant; tuus amor et authoritas istos sorices nobis abigat. Demosthenes Atheniensis doluit se victum opificum antelucanâ industriâ, nostræ etiam Athenæ artesque obscuris opificum artibus superari dolebunt. Sed tua humanitas hæc nobis expediet. Deus fortunet tibi hunc honorem, et faxit, ut tibi gloriæ sit, omnibus saluti.

XVI. GRATULATIO AD CRANFIELD,

THESAURAR. 8 OCT. 1621.

ILLUSTRISSIME DOMINE,

CONCEDE ut Honoribus nuperis, tanquam partubus Virtutum Tuarum, Alma Mater accurrens gratuletur: solent enim Studiosorum suffragia enixûs gloriæ sollicitudine in futurum plenos haud parum levare; præsertim quum ipsi non solum rectum de bene-merentibus judicium hausisse ab antiquis, sed et ad posteros transmissuri videantur. Quare post principis manum honoribus refertam, non est quod nostram quoque, cum amoris symbolo festinantem, recuses. Sic apud veterum aras, post ingentes Hecatombas, exiguam thuris micam adoleri legimus. Tu Domine vicisti! tuere nos ita ut fortunæ nostræ, intra ambitum amplexusque felicitatis Tuæ receptæ, communi calore foveantur. Et cum ob perspicacitatem singularem jam olim Regi notam atque signatam dignissimè præficiaris Fisco, etiam Academiam in Thesauris habe: justissime potes sub hoc Principe, in quo doctrinæ fructus atque usus mirificè relucet: certè, si quantum eruditio Regis profuerit Reipublicæ, tantum favoris nobis impertias, abundè succurres

Magnificentiæ tuæ addictissimis,
Procancellario.
Rel.

XVII. AD LANC. ANDREWES EPISC.

(FROM THE BRITISH MUSEUM, MS. SLOAN. NO. 118.)

SANCTISSIME PATER,

STATIM a solatio aspectus tui, ego auctior jam gaudio atque distentior, Cantabrigiam redii. Quid enim manerem? Habui viaticum favoris tui, quod longiori multo itineri sufficeret. Nunc obrutus Academicis negotiis, ægrè hoc tempus illis succido: non quin pectus meum plenum tui sit, atque effusissimum in omnia officia, quæ præstet, mea parvitas; sed ut faciliùs ignoscas occupato calamo, qui etiam ferians nihil tua perfectione dignum procudere possit. Utcunque tua lenitas non ita interpretabitur mea hæc scribendi intervalla, ac si juvenili potius impetu correptus, quam adductus maturo consilio, primas dedissem literas, ideoque præfervida illa desideria silentio suo sepulta nunc languescere, ut halitus tenuiores solent, qui primo caloris suasu excitati atque expergefacti, ubi sursum processerint paulò, frigefacti demum relabuntur. Hoc quidem illis accidere amat, qui celeritatem affectuum raptim sequentes, ad omnem eorum auram vacillant. Ego, non nisi meditatò, obrepsi ad favorem tuum; perfectionibus tuis, meis desideriis probè cognitis, excussis, perpensisque. Cum enim vim cogitationum in vitam meam omnem convertissem, et ex altera parte acuissem me aspectu virtutum tuarum; huc, illuc commeando, eò deveni animo, ut nunquam cessandum mihi ducerem, nunquam fatiscendum, donec lacteam aliquam viam ad candorem mentis tuæ ducentem aut reperissem aut fecissem. Neque quòd ignotior eram, retundebatur unquam impetus: quippe, qui sic

colligebam; si tam abjectus sim, ut laboribus meis plurimis atque assiduâ observantiâ, ramenta quæpiam ex tanta Humanitatis massa, quæ apud te visitur, abscindere non possim, absque molestâ aliorum ac frigidâ commendatione, si huc reciderit omnis studiorum spes fructusque:

> Cur ego laborem notus esse tam pravè?
> Cum stare gratis cum silentio possim.

Quod tamen hæc omnia succedant ex voto, quod reclusæ sint fores, receptusque sim in aliquem apud H. T. locum, magis id adeo factum esse mansuetudine tuâ incomparabili, quam meis meritis ullis, semper lubentissimèque agnoscam: imò precabor enixè, me tum privari tam communi hâc luce, quam tuâ, cum id agnoscere unquam desinam. Quanquam, cum gravibus duobus muneribus fungar apud meos, Rhetoris in hunc annum, et in plures Oratoris, permitte, pater, hoc impetrem, ut cedam aliquantisper expectationi hominum, rariùsque paulo fodiam in Vintoniensi agro, dum Rhetorici satagam: quamvis enim sexcenta hujusmodi prædiola tuâ gratiâ permutare nolim; majus tamen piaculum reor, deesse publico muneri, quam privato, latiusque manare injustitiæ peccatum, quam negligentiæ. Illic constringor debito: hic etiam teneor, sed laxioribus vinculis, quæque amor sæpe remittit: illud necessarium magis factu, hoc vero longè jucundius, nobiliusque: ut quod Philosophus de tactu et visu, id appositè admodum huc transferatur. Appetit tempus, cum excusso altero jugo, dimidiâque operis parte levatus, ad mea in H. T. officia erectior solutiorque redibo, ex ipsâ intermissione animos ducens. Interim, sic existimes, nihil mortalium firmiori flagrare in te desiderio, quam meum pectus; neque ulla negotia, (quippe quæ caput petant, non cor) tui in me dominii jus imminuere posse, nedùm rescindere. Unà cum pro-

motionibus Academicis maternisque, assumpsi mecum propensionem in Patrem. "Crescent illæ, crescetis amores." Cui sententiæ si fidem adhibeas, assensumque tuum veritati omni familiarem largiaris, (*συν τῇ εὐλογία σοῦ προσεπιμετρουμένῃ*) beabis

Filium tuum obsequentissimum
GEORGIUM HERBERT.

Ignosce (Heros illustrissime) quod pronomina mea adeò audacter incedant in hâc epistolâ: potui refercire lineas Honoribus, Magnif. Celsitud. sed non patitur, ut mihi videtur, Romana elegantia, periodique vetus rotunditas. Quare malui servire auribus tuis, creberrima Antiquitatis lectione tersis atque expolitis, quam luxuriæ seculi, ambitionisque strumæ, non adeò sanatæ ab optimo rege nostro quin turgescat indies, atque efferat se, indulgere.

To the right honorable and reverend
Father in God, my L. Bishop of
Winchester, one of the Kings most
honorable privy Counsaile.

ORATIO

QUA AUSPICATISSIMUM SERENISSIMI PRINCIPIS CAROLI

REDITUM EX HISPANIIS CELEBRAVIT GEORGIUS HERBERT ACADEMIÆ CANTABRIGIENSIS ORATOR.*

VENERANDA CAPITA, VIRI GRAVISSIMI,
PUBES LECTISSIMA.

POLYCRATES cùm annulum sibi dilectum in mare dimisisset, eundemque retulisset captus piscis, fœlicissimus mortalium habitus est. Quanto fœliciores nos omnes, Corona Musica, qui optimum Principem spe nuptiarum mari nuper tradentes, et ipsum accepimus salvum et annulum, annulum Conjugalem, nunc denuo nostrum, atque ubivis terrarum pro judicio prudentissimi Regis, et in rebus humanis divinisque exercitatissimi, de integro disponendum. Rediit, rediit CAROLUS, et cum eo vita nostra atque calor, longo animi deliquio fugitivus ac desertor. Quid jactas mihi aromata Orientis? Quid Theriacas peregrinas? asserunt Medici unamquamque regionem suam sibi sufficere, neque externis indigere auxiliis atque antidotis: certè nostrate Principe nusquam præsentius Balsamum, nusquam benignius, solvens obstupefactos artus, atque exhilarans, tumentibus jam venis, arteriis micantibus spiritibusque tabellariis lætum hunc nuncium ubique deferentibus, ut nullus sit angulus corporis, nulla venula, ubi non adsit CAROLUS.

* Ex officina Cantrelli Legge, Almæ Matris Cantabrigiæ typographi, 1623, sm. 4to.

Quàm facilè sentiuntur boni Principes! Ut natura omnis suos habet anteambulones, unde pluvia futura, an sudum, facilè conjicitur ex cœlo, ex garritu avium, ex lapidum exhalatione: Sic bonorum Principum facilis Astrologia: quorum adventum ipsi lapides, ipsa durissima ingenia, meum præsertim, celare non possunt: quantò minus tacebunt lusciniæ nostræ disertæ, minimeque omnium cœlestiores animi, quorum pietatis interest non silere.

Quæ enim uspiam gens, quod unquam seculum meliorem habuit Principem? percurrite Annales regnorum, excutite scrinia politiarum omnium; vos, vos, inquam, excutite, quorum ætas teritur in libris: non rusticis loquor aut barbaris, quos magnificentiâ promissi circumscribere in promptu erat, rudesque animos vi verborum percellere: vestra est optio, vestra disquisitio, qui lineæ estis et helluones chartacei; date mihi CAROLUM alterum, quamlibet Magnum, modo detis eum in flore, in vaginâ, in herbescenti viriditate; nondum ad spicam, barbamque adultum. Non rhetoricor, Academici, non tinnio: ὑλομανίαν illam et inanem verborum strepitum jamdudum deposui: bullæ et crepitacula puerorum sunt, aut eorum certè, qui cymbala sunt fanaticæ juventutis: ego vero sentio, et quis sum ipse (barbam, hui, tam gravem) et apud quos dico, viros limatæ auris atque tersæ, quorum gravitate ac purpurâ non abutar.

Quare ut parciùs agam vobiscum, simulque et laboribus meis, et vestræ fidei consulam, quemadmodum artifices non omnes licitantibus producunt merces, sed specimen tantùm: sic et ipse excerpam è Principis rebus gestis pugillum; unam actionem è multis seligam, quam vobis amplectendam dissuaviandamque præbebo: esto autem hoc ipsum iter, quod nuper emensus est, ut sciatis omnes quàm nudè, quàm simpliciter vobiscum

agam, quàm non longè abeam Oratorum more, qui nullum non angulum verrunt (ac si perdiderint ingenium) ut Spartam exornent suam: Ego vero non dicam vobis quod factum est ante seculum vestrum, aut apud Indos; unicum hoc iter nuperum explicabo, in quo longè uberrimam gloriæ segetem, perspicio, nullâ verborum, nullâ temporis falce demetendam.

Non unum quid spectant, aut singulare magni animi, sed varia solent esse eorum consilia, finesque multiplices et polymiti, ut si minùs id assequantur, quod primùm intendunt, saltem in secundis aut tertiis consistant. Quare et Principis iter multiplicem nobis exhibet prudentiam: primò nuptias ipsas spectate. Quid autem? Ergon' amavit Princeps? Quippini; homo est, non statua; Sceptriger, non sceptrum: æquúmne est ut tot labores et sollicitudines Principum sine condimento sint atque embammate? Quid si cochleas colligeret cum Caligulâ, præsertim cum possit in eodem litore? Quid si muscas captaret cum Domitiano? at ille ambivit nobilissimam Austriacam familiam. Aquilamque illam, quæ non capit muscas. Nihil habet humana vita majoris momenti aut ponderis, quàm Nuptiæ, quas adeo laudant Poetæ, ut in cœlum transtulerint: Ἐι ἓν ἦν ὁ ἄνθρωπος, inquit Medicorum Alpha, οὐκ ἂν ἤλγεεν. Hinc Thraces dicti sunt ἄβιοι, et Licurgus magnus Legislator, ἀτιμίαν προσέθηκε τοῖς ἀγάμοις: Absque nuptiis foret populus virorum essemus unius seculi; hâc re solum ulciscimur mortem, ligantes abruptum vitæ filum, unde consequimur, vel invitis Fatis quasi nodosam æternitatem.

Non ignoro apud quos hæc dico, eos scilicet, qui innuptam Palladem colunt, Musasque cœlibes, qui posteros libris non liberis quæritis. Nolite tamen nimium efferre vos, cum Virginitas ipsa fructus sit Nuptiarum: quod pereleganter et supra barbariem seculi innuebant

Majores nostri, qui olim glasto se inficientes, in uxorum corporibus, Solem, Lunam, et Stellas; in virginum, flores atque herbas depinxere: ut enim Uxores, Virgines; ita Sol et Cœlum producunt flores, qui symbola sunt spei, quoniam à floribus fructus sperantur.

Quod si Nuptiæ in se graves sunt, quantò magis Principum, cum, quò eorum conditio sublimior, eò major cura adhibenda sit. Deus ipse cum crearet hominem, mundi regem, consilio usus est. Quare operosior in eo structura, et prærogativæ regiæ emicant. Soli homini dantur manus, soli caput rotundum et cœleste, soli facies tanquam vestibulum magni palatii. Jam verò, ut Rex animalium fiat Rex hominum, apponimus nos manibus Sceptrum, capiti et faciei coronam, significantes oportere Reges iis partibus antecellere homines, quibus homo bruta, justitia scilicet et prudentia. *Goropius Becanus* ait vetus vocabulum nostrum, Koning, et contractè King, à *Con* verbo deduci, quod tria complectitur, *Possum*, *Scio*, *Audeo:* cernitis Regem, et nomine et re magnum quid polliceri, ideoque ex quolibet ligno, qualibet uxore non esse fingendum: neque enim minus refert, qualis quæque sit mater, è quâ liberi quærantur quam qualis terra, è quâ arbores. Apud Juris-consultos, partus sequitur ventrem: quibus accedunt Poetæ,

Ὅταν κρηπὶς μὴ καταβληθῇ τοῦ γένους
Ὀρθῶς, ἀνάγκη δυσυχεῖν τους ἐκγόνους.

Nam ut educationem liberorum mittam, quâ in re celebris est Gracchorum mater, ingenium ipsum atque indoles (veluti Conclusio sequitur infirmiorem partem) plerumque matrissat: hinc contigisse arbitror apud Romanos, quod nonnullæ familiæ semper mites essent, uti Valerii, aliæ contrà semper pertinaces ac tribunitiæ, uti Appii. Quare noluit Princeps optimus, in delectu uxoris, re unâ omnium gravissimâ alienis oculis judi-

cioque inniti; Ipse, ipse profectus est, ut ingenti labore suo et periculo consuleret, et præsenti Reipublicæ et futuræ; neque unius seculi Princeps, sed et omnium, quæ ventura sunt, haberetur. Neque in hisce Nuptiis posteritati tantùm prospexit suavissimus Princeps, verùm etiam præsenti seculo, dum pacem, quâ tot jam annis impunè fruimur, hoc pacto fundatam cupit et perpetuam; quod quidem ubi gentium si non ab Hispano sperandum? *Ὅταν νομεὺς ἀγαθὸν κύνα ἔχῃ, καὶ ὁι ἄλλοι νομεῖς βούλονται πλησίον ἀυτοῦ τὰς ἀγέλας ἱστάναι.* Scio Belli nomen splendidum esse et gloriosum, dum animus grandis, suique impos, triumphos et victorias, quasi fræna ferox spumantia mandit, juvat micare gladio et mucronem intueri.

> Jam nunc minaci murmure cornuum
> Stringuntur aures: jam litui strepunt,
> Jam fulgor armorum fugaces
> Terret equos equitumque vultus.

Cum tamen splendida plerumque vitrea sint, claritatem fragilitate corrumpentia; neque de privato agamus bono, sed publico; certè fatendum est, anteferendam bello pacem, sine quâ omnis vita procella, et mundus solitudo. Pace, filii sepeliunt patres; bello, patres, filios: pace, ægri sanantur; bello, etiam sani intereunt: pace, securitas in agris est; bello, neque intra muros: pace, avium cantus expergefacit; bello, tubæ ac tympana: pax novum orbem aperuit; bellum destruit veterem.

> *Ἐιρήνη γεωργὸν κἂν πέτραις τρέφει καλῶς*
> *Πολεμὸς δὲ κἂν πεδίῳ κακὸς ἔφυ.*

Quod ad nostram Rempublicam, Academiam, pax adeo Musis summè necessaria est, ut sine eâ nihil simus. Nam primùm toto hæc Pieria supellex, charta, calami, codices, quàm subitò dispereunt, simul ac concrepuit

incendium militare: quid proderunt scalpella vestra, quando ipsæ hæ turres et beatæ fabricæ, unico ictu sulphurei tubi, unicâ liturâ delentur? Dein quid Musis cum tumultu? Otium poscunt artes, mentem tranquillam, serenam, sudam: lucos æstate, pinguem togam hyeme: delicata res est eruditio et tenera, tanquam flos molliculus rudiore Centurionis manu tactus flaccescit. Tu, qui Philosophiæ incumbis, cùm corporis cum animâ vinculum impedimento esse ad contemplandum causaris, irruit Miles in Musæum tuum, et gladio te liberat. Tu, qui astra scrutaris, dum globos tractas et cœlos fictitios, perrumpit primipilus, et te cum cœlis tuis ad inferos deturbat. Sensit hoc Archidemes, figuras jam nunc pulveri inscriptas, corpore confosso obliterans. Quare cavendum, ne pacem, quæ sola incubat artibus, et obstetricatur, minus quàm par est, æstimemus. Quod aliæ gentes manibus in cœlum sublatis, lachrymis in terram manantibus, jejunæ, squalidæ, perdiæ, pernoctes flagitant, cavendum ne id nobis nauseam moveat, aut tanquam oves tædulæ et fastidiosæ, cibum respuamus. Ecquid nescitis miserias Belli? consulite historias; illic tuta cognitio est, atque extra teli jactum. Ecce lanienas omnimodas, truncata corpora, mutilatam imaginem Dei, pauxillum vitæ, quantum satis ad dolendum, urbium incendia, fragores, direptiones, stupratas virgines, prægnantes bis intersectas, infantulos plus lactis quàm cruoris emittentes; effigies, imo umbras hominum fame, frigore, illuvie, enectas, contusas, debilitatas. Quam cruenta gloria est, quæ super cervicibus hominum erigitur? ubi in dubio est, qui facit, an qui patitur, miserior.

Non nego bellum aliquando necessarium esse, bellique miserias gratas, præcipuè ubi velut ex continentibus tectis ad nos trajecturum est incendium:

Σωφρόνων ἐστὶ μὴ περιμένειν, ὅτε πολεμεῖν ὑμῖν ὁμολογήσει, dixit Mithridates. Sed non est nostri bellum indicere: prudentissimus Rex maturè prospiciet, ubi ille signum sustulerit, Leones Britannici (è quorum ossibus collisis ignis elicitur) qui nunc mansueti sunt, abundè rugient. Interim curiositas absit, neque eorum satagamus, quæ ad nos non spectant; sed velut Romani lacum, cujus altitudo ignota erat, dedicabant victoriæ; pariter et nos consilia regia, tanquam gurgitem impervestigabilem, victoriæ nuncupemus: præsertim cum futura incerta sint, et nullis perspicillis, ne Belgicis quidem assequenda: apud poetas deorum pharetræ operculum habuere, humanæ non item: patent enim consilia nostra, absconduntur Divina et Regia, præcipuè pharetrata, quæ ad pœnam gentium et Bellum spectant. Sunt tamen acuti quidam et emuncti, qui omnia prævident: nihil eos latet, ac si Fatis à fuso essent, atque consiliis, sine quibus ne unum quidem filum torquerent: nobis non licet esse tam perspicacibus, quamvis rationi consonum videtur, ut qui hic in Musarum monte editissimo, in ipso Parnasso siti sumus, liberiorem, quam alii, prospectum habeamus. Illud autem, quod cuivis clarissimè patet, etiam lusco; nunquam intueri satis vel mirari possumus, nimirum infinitum Principis in suam gentem amorem, cui pacem quæsivit suo capite, periculis suis.

Rectè facitis, Academici, attollentes oculos cum stupore; Laudo vos, neque enim quicquam hoc itinere mirabilius, cujus tamen fructum omnem nondum habetis enucleatum. Quid enim si præter Nuptias, prolem, tranquillitatem, etiam et scientiæ augmentum ex hoc itinere captavit solertissimus Princeps? nihil ad cognitionem acquirendam peregrinatione conducibilius esse novistis omnes, unde cuncti antiqui Philosophi

peregrinati sunt, existimantes Τυφλοὺς εἶναι πρὸς ὀξὺ βλέποντας, ἀναποδημήτας πρὸς ἐκδεδημηκότας. Quamvis res hæc Principibus ut utilissima ita difficillima facta, cum quantò plus possint in suâ terrâ, tantò minùs in alienâ. Omne regnum suo Principi carcer est, aut si excedat, alienum: at Noster difficultatem superans, fructum consecutus est: quid enim utilius quàm ex observatione exterarum Legum ac morum, patriam ditare? Catonianum præceptum est: Vicini quo pacto niteant, id animum advertito; adde quod angusti est animi aut superbi sua tantum nosse, præsertim cum in uno regno non sint omnia: divisit Natura suas dotes, ut indigentia singularum regionum, omnes connectit; etenim abundantia morosa est et sternax, unde divites sylvas, ac saltus quærunt ubi ædificent, ac si non gregaria essent animalia, sed tigres aut ursi. Quamobrem optimè consuluit gentibus natura, cum paupertatem daret tanquam catenam, quâ dissitas nationes ac superbas constringeret. Porro si Politicos audiamus, Salus regnorum pendet à vicinis, quorum consilia, apparatus, fœdera, munitiones, æquè ac nostra spectari debent: incumbant sibi invicem imperia, tanquam ligna obliqua, aliter magna hæc mundi domus corrueret: hinc Reges Legatos habent statarios ac resides, quem locum Noster suavissimus implevit, ipse egit oratorem, ut et ego aliquantulum hoc nomine glorier.

Neque alienas tantùm ex hoc itinere cognovit Respublica sed quod plus est, suam; absentiâ magis quàm præsentiâ. Nunc enim exploratos habet nostros in se affectus, timores, suspiria, expostulationes, iras, amorem rursus. Deus bone? qui tum rumores? quæ auditiones? qui susurri? Heus, abiitnè Noster? miseros nos; nunquam frigidiorem æstatem sensimus; at quo tandem! Madritum? hui! iter bene longum: Quid autem illic?

sterilem aiunt regionem: Falleris, nusquam plura bona, cum etiam mala illic sint aurea: nihil inaudisti de Tago, Pactolo? apud nos agri tantum sunt fertiles, illic etiam arenæ. Dii te perdant, cum malis tuis et arenâ sine calce; at ego Principem vellem, CAROLUM, CAROLUM; siccinè abiisti solus? cur non nos omnes tecum? cur non ut elephanti turres, ita tu patriam tecum portasti? Sic tunc omnes strepebant; hujusmodi lamentis et quiritationibus plena erant fora, nundinæ, conciliabula, angiportus, Mæandri. Dicam vobis, Academici: ego tunc temporis liberior eram, hùc illùc pro libitu circumcursitans: inspexi facies hominum ac vultus curiosiùs tanquam emptor, ita me ametis omnes, ut ego nihil uspiam lætum, nihil candidum expiscari possem; oculi omnium dejecti, humile os, collum pensile, manus decussatæ, ipsæ mulieres inelegantes, nulla pulchritudo per universam Britanniam, disparuit forma, Albion nomine excidit: ipsum cœlum nubilum semper, et poeta stultus qui dixerat,

Minimà contentos nocte Britannos.

Inde ego sic mecum: gaudeo quidem de ingenti amore in Principem, cui nulla dilectio par esse potest; at cur adeo dolent? cur ringuntur? num diffidunt prudentiæ Regis? annon ejus consilio res gesta est? Scio Hispanum versutum, callidum, artis et aucupii apprimè gnarum: at JACOBUS à nobis est: hic ego me erexi et de dolore remisi plurimum, de desiderio nihil. Atque hoc quidem statu res erant, Suavissime CAROLE, cum tu aberas; ex quo facile collectu erat, quantum deperimus te; quam stultè de te rixamur: ut aliquando existimem id egisse prudentissimum Patrem tuum, cum dimitteret te in Hispaniam, quod Romani Imperatores in bello, qui solebant signa in hostes injicere, ut milites acriùs ea

repeterent: certè nos te absentem omnes acerrimè concitatissimeque desideravimus.

Ecquid videtis tandem quàm utile hoc iter, per quod optimus Princeps non tantùm exteras regiones habuit perspectas, verum etiam suam; Quid si hic lateat etiam Temperantia, rara in Principibus virtus, et cui cum sceptro lites sæpiùs intercedunt? Quid enim? adeon' nihili videtur res, Principem omnibus deliciis abundantem, obseptum illecebris, voluptatibus quasi fasciis circundatum, enatare è deliciis, transilire sepes, rumpere fascias cum Hercule, serpentesque interficere voluptatis, ut iter tantum, tantis laboribus, periculis obnoxium susciperet? Quàm pudet me delicatorum Cæsarum, qui cupiditatibus immersi, aut uno semper saginantur in loco, uti anguillæ, aut si mutant locum, gestantur, tanquam onera, circumferuntur mollissimis lecticis, indicantes, se non amare patriam terram, à quâ adeo removenter. Sic pascunt se indies, ac si corpora sua non abirent olim in elementa, sed in bellaria aut tragemata: cum tamen in resolutione illâ ultimâ, nulla sit distinctio populi aut principis: nulla sunt sceptra in elementis, nulli fasces aut secures: Vapores serviles ad nubes educti, æquè magnum tonitru edent ac regii. Quid ego vobis Neronum aut Heliogabalorum ingluviem memorem? quid ructus crapulæ solium possidentis? Dies me deficeret (et quidem nox aptior esset tali historiæ) si Romanorum Imperatorum incredibilem luxum à Tiberio Cæsare ad Constantinum magnum aperirem, quorum imperium gulæ impar erat, ut interdum putem, optimè consuluisse Deum orbi terrarum lapides et metalla ei inserendo, alitèr mundus jamdiu fuisset devoratus. Nota sunt *ταριχέυματα* Ægyptiorum, qui antequam condiebant corpora Nobilium, solebant ventres eximere, quos in arcâ repositos abjiciebant in fluvium, his verbis. Ὦ

δέσποτα ἤλιε καὶ θέοι πάντες, εἴ τι κατὰ τὸν ἐμαυτοῦ βίον ἥμαρτον, ἢ φαγὼν ἢ πιὼν, ὧν μὴ θεμιτὸν ἦν, οὔ δὶ ἐμαυτὸν ἥμαρτον, ἀλλὰ διὰ ταῦτα. At noster spretis voluptatibus, illecebris *μελιταίαις ἀγχόναις* abjectis, iter aggreditur et labores, haud ignarus, ignem vitæ augeri ventilatione, desidiâ corrumpi, neminemque esse sui negligentiorem, quam qui sibi parcat. Quin exuit personam Principis, deponit Majestatem, virgam cum sceptro commutans, ut quid privata habeat in se vita commodi aut voluptatis, experiretur. Nihil utilius Regi quàm aliquando non regnare: hoc enim fastum amputat, affectus explorat, adulationem ventilat, et adulatores, qui semper titillant aures Principum, *Ὥσπερ τοῖς πτεροῖς κνώμενοι τὰ ὦτα.* Elfredus nobilissimus Saxonum nostrorum Princeps, sub ementito habitu fidicinis castra hostium ingressus, ipsumque Prætorium, fidibus canendo, omnia Danorum expiscatus consilia, victoriam celebrem consecutus est. Notissimus est Codri amor, cujus manifestationem in gentem suam, privatæ personæ et habitui debuit. Porro, est etiam interdum satietas quædam honoris, quem ad tempus deponere famem excitat: non minùs vitæ inæqualitas delectat, quàm terræ, quam Natura montibus vallibusque sublimitate atque humilitate distinxit: quin et venti imperant pelago, ut lævitatem illam æquabilem atque politiem perturbent. In picturis locus est umbris et recessibus, etiam si quis Principem pingat. Amat varietatem Natura omnis, flores, animalia, tum maximè homo, cui soli ideo insunt oculi variegati, cum cætera animantia unicolores habeant. Quamobrem non est mirandum, si Reges ipsi quandoque suavitates suas populari aceto condiant.

Accepistis, Viri attentissimi, causas itineris hujus, quantum quidem ego homuncio ac nanus conjectando assequor. Quare nunc vobis ex pede Herculem, ex

itinere Principem metiri licet, quod sane adeo nobile fuit et honorificum, ut nihil habeat Invidia ipsa, quod contra hiscat aut mussitet. Adest tamen anus illa querula, et φιλεγκλήμων, quam audire videor dicentem Pulchrum quidem iter et Amante dignum; siccine pessima? at fuerit; si amor virginis eò pertraxit Principem, quò tandem ducet amor Patriæ? eadem acies et stipulam secat et lignum: idem fervor qui impar sub amoris signo meritus est, ad vera castra traductus, hostem interficiet: idem impetus, qui peragravit Hispaniam, si opus sit, superabit; præsertim cùm amico fidere periculosius sit, quàm hostem superare. Protagoras cùm elegantèr admodùm caudices ligni fasciculo vinxisset, cum grandi atque impedito onere facillimè incedens, occurrit ei Democritus, et ingenium admirans, domum secum duxit, et erudivit artibus; qui inde è bajulo evasit Philosophus, eodem ingenio usus in lignis et literis: quis scit an et amoris onus scitè vinctum ligatumque et per tot milliaria facilè transmissum, mentem majorum capacem indicet! Florent apud nos artes omnes, inter quas et Mathematicæ, quæ licèt versentur in figuris describendis, quibus nihil imperito vanius inutiliusvè videatur, ubi tamen ad usum tralatæ fuerint, machinas conficiunt ad defensionem Reipublicæ mirabiles: Sic idem animus, qui nuper versatus est in formâ et figuris vultus, ubi res postulat, regnum tuebitur: imò in universum, si quis de Principe aliquo, quis sit futurus aut qualis, rectè divinaret, non respiciat materiam actionum, sed quo spiritu, quâ arte, quanto impetu atque vigore res aggrediatur: quemadmodum in Cometæ præsagio, non respicitur, quæ materia sit, cœlestis an sublunaris, sed quæ signa, quo motu transeat.

Verùm mittamus invidos et invidiam, que semper se devorat primùm, uti vermis nucleum, è quo nascitur;

non est tanti respondere latratibus malevolorum; licèt celebres sint canes Britannici, et plus justo celebres, cum leunculum et dominum suum contra naturam adoriantur: in Geoponicis dicitur, Κάτοπτρον ἐὰν ἐπιδείξῃς τῷ ἐπικειμένῳ νέφει, παρελεύσεταί ἡ χάλαζα: quanto citiùs fugient calumniæ, si speculum Invidiæ ostendas, quo deformitatem suam intueatur. Nos vero, flores Parnassi, gaudia præstolantur, quæ jamdudum annuunt mihi ut perorem. Hilaris hæc sumenda est dies. Quare prodite tenebriones literarii è gurgustiis vestris, ubi trecenta foliorum jugera uno die sedentes percurritis; prodite omnes. Quid novi? Quid novi stupide? Rediit Princeps, Carolus rediit, honore gravidus, gravidus scientiâ, cruribus thymo plenis: ut enim vapor, qui furtim ascendit ad nubes, ubi jam ingravescit humore, relabitur in terram, quâ ortus est, eique cum fœcundiâ remuneratur: sic et Noster qui clanculum exiit, usque ad Pyrenæas nubes conscendens, reversus per mare, gloriâ, prudentiâ auctior, ditat patriam, suamque absentiam cum fœnore compensat. Quamobrem abjicite quisque libros, non est locus gravitati, neque apud vos: tripudiet Alma Mater licèt ætate provectior, etiam anus subsultans multùm excitet pulveris: Arionem Delphino revectum excepere arbores tripudiantes, et Vos statis?

Tantùm precemur Deum immortalem, ut Princeps optimus nulla secunda itinera meditetur; posthac contineat se patriâ, cujus arctis amplexibus nunquam se expediet. Gulielmus Victor descensurus primùm è navibus in terram hanc, incidit in cœnum, quod innuebat eum hìc mansurum: utinam et nunc sit tanta patriæ tenacitas, ut nunquam Princeps se extricet: satis virtuti datum est, satis Reipublicæ. Quod si necesse sit iterum exire patriâ, qui nunc invenit viam, proximo itinere faciat. Apollo olim depositis radiis, Daphnen deperiit,

at illa mutata est in arborem triumphantium propriam: Noster etiam Princeps habuit Daphnen suam, cujus amor deinceps in triumphos et laurus mutabitur.

Nos vero, Auditores, diu jam peregrinati cum Principe, commodè pervenimus ad laurum hanc, ubi sub umbrâ ejus paulisper requiescamus; præsertim donec transeat nubes illa, quæ vicinos adeò infestat: hìc enim securi sumus à pluviâ, imò à fulmine: Obsecremus eum tantùm ut permittat nostram hanc

Inter victrices hederam sibi serpere Lauros.

DIXI.

ORATIO DOMINI GEORGII HERBERT,

ORATORIS ACADEMIÆ CANTABRIGIENSIS, HABITA CORAM DOMINIS LEGATIS* CUM MAGISTRO. IN ARTIB. TITULIS INSIGNIRENTUR. 27 FEB. 1622.

EXCELLENTISSIMI MAGNIFICENTISSIMI DOMINI,

POST honores eximios, præfecturas insignes, legationes nobilissimas, aliosque titulos æquè nobis memorantibus, ac merentibus vobis gratissimos, saluete tandem Magistri Artium, et quidem omnium aulicarum, militarium, academicarum. Cujus novi tituli accessionem summè gratulantur Excellentiis vestris Musæ omnes, Gratiæque, obsecrantes, ut deponatis paulisper vultus illos bellicos, quibus hostes soletis in potestatem redigere, lenioresque aspectus, et dulciores assumatis; nos

* Don Charles de Coloma, Spanish ambassador, and Ferdinand, Baron of Boyscot, ambassador of Isabella, Archduchess of Austria. London, Printed by W. Stansby, for Richard Meighen. 1623.

etiam exuentes os illud, et supercilium quibus caperatam severioremque, philosophiam expugnare novimus, quicquid hilare est, lætum, ac lubens, vestram in gratiam amplectimur. Quid enim jucundius accidere potest, quàm ut ministri regis Catholica ad nos accedant? cujus ingens gloria æquè rotunda est atque ipse orbis: qui utrasque Indias Hispaniâ suâ quasi modo connectens, nullas metas laudum, nullas Herculeas columnas, quas jam olim possidet, agnoscit. Jamdudum nos omnes, nostrumque regnum gestimus fieri participes ejus sanguinis, qui tantos spiritus solet infundere. Et quod observatione cum primis dignum est, quo magis amore coalescamus, utraque gens Hispanica, Britannica, colimus Jacobum. Jacobus tutelaris divus est utrique nostrum; ut satis intelligatis, Excellentias vestras tanto chariores esse, cùm eo sitis ordine atque habitu, quo nos in hoc regno omnes esse gloriamur. Quin et serenissimæ Principis Isabellæ laudes, virtutesque, vicinum fretum quotidie transnatantes, litora nostra atque aures mirè circumsonant. Necesse est autem ut fœlicitas tantorum principum etiam in ministros redundet, quorum in eligendis illis judicium jampridem apparet. Quarè excellentissimi, splendidissimi Domini, cum tanti sitis et in principibus vestris, et in vobismetipsis, veremur ne nihil hic sit, quod magnitudini præsentiæ vestræ respondeat. Quis enim apud nos splendor, aut rerum, aut vestium? quæ rutilatio? certe cùm duplex fulgor sit, qui mundi oculos perstringat, nos tam defecimus in utroque quàm Excellentiæ vestræ abundant. Quinimo artes hic sunt quietæ, et silentio cultæ, tranquillitas, otium, pax omnibus præterquam tineis, paupertas perpetua, nisi ubi vestræ adsunt Excellentiæ. Nolite tamen contemnere has gloriolas nostras quas è chartis et pulvere eruimus. Quomodo possetis similes esse Alexandro magno nisi

ejus res gestas tradidisset historia? seritur fama in hoc sæculo, ut in sequenti metatur: prius Excellentiis vestris curæ erit; posterioris largam messem vobis hæc tenuia boni consulentibus, vovemus.

THE ORATION OF MASTER GEORGE HERBERT,

ORATOR OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE, WHEN THE AMBASSADORS WERE MADE MASTERS OF ARTS. 27 FEB. 1622.

MOST EXCELLENT AND MOST MAGNIFICENT LORDS,

AFTER many singular honours, remarkable commands, most noble ambassages, and other titles most pleasing, as well to us remembering, as to you deserving them; we at last salute you Masters of Arts; yea, indeed of all, both courtly, military, academical. The accession of which new title to your Excellencies, all the Muses and Graces congratulate; entreating that you would awhile lay aside those warlike looks, with which you use to conquer your enemies, and assume more mild and gracious aspects; and we also putting off that countenance and gravity, by which we well know how to convince the stern, and more austere sort of philosophy, for respect to you, embrace all that is cheerful, joyous, pleasing. For, what could have happened more pleasing to us, than the access of the officers of the Catholic king? whose exceeding glory is equally round with the world itself: who tying, as with a knot, both Indies to his Spain, knows no limits of his praise, no, not, as in past ages, those pillars of Hercules. Long since, all we and our whole kingdom exult with joy, to

be united with that blood which useth to infuse so great and worthy spirits. And that which first deserveth our observation, to the end, we might the more by love grow on, both the Spanish and British nation serve and worship James. James is the protecting saint unto us both, that you may well conceive your Excellencies to be more dear unto us, in that you are of the same order and habit, of which we all in this kingdom glory to be. The praises also and virtues of the most renowned Princess Isabel, passing daily our neighbouring sea, wondrously sound through all our coasts and ears. And necessarily must the felicity of so great princes redound also to those servants, in the choice of whom their judgment doth even now appear. Wherefore most excellent, most illustrious Lords, since you are so great both in your princes, and yourselves, we justly fear that there is nothing here answerable to the greatness of your presence. For amongst us what glorious shew is there, either of garments or of any thing else? what splendour? surely, since there is a twofold brightness which dazzleth the eyes of men, we have as much failed, as your Excellencies do excel in both. But yet the arts in quietness and silence here are reverenced; here is tranquillity, repose, peace with all but book worms, perpetual poverty, but when your Excellencies appear. Yet do not ye contemn these our slight glories, which we raise from books, and painful industry; how could you be like great Alexander, unless history delivered his actions? Fame is sown in this age, that it may be reaped in the following; let the first be the care of your Excellencies; we for your gracious acceptance of these poor duties wish, and vow unto you of the last a plenteous harvest.

LETTERS OF DR. DONNE

TO HIS MOTHER THE LADY MARGARET HERBERT.

From the Appendix to Walton's Life.

I. TO THE WORTHIEST LADY,

MRS. MAGDALEN HERBERT.

MADAM,

EVERY excuse hath in it somewhat of accusation; and since I am innocent, and yet must excuse, how shall I do for that part of accusing. By my troth, as desperate and perplexed men grow from thence bold; so must I take the boldness of accusing you, who would draw so dark a curtain betwixt me and your purposes, as that I had no glimmering, either of your goings, nor the way which my letters might haunt. Yet, I have given this licence to travel, but I know not whither, nor it. It is therefore rather a pinnace to discover; and the entire colony of letters, of hundreds and fifties, must follow; whose employment is more honourable than that which our state meditates to Virginia, because you are worthier than all that country, of which that is a wretched inch; for you have better treasure and a harmlessness. If this sound like a flattery, tear it out. I am to my letters as rigid a puritan, as Cæsar was to his wife. I can as ill endure a suspicious and misinterpretable word as a fault; but remember, that nothing is flattery which the speaker believes; and of the grossest flatteries there is this good use, that they tell us what we should be. But, madam, you are beyond instruction, and therefore there can belong to you only praise; of which though you be no good hearer, yet allow all my

letters leave to have in them one part of it, which is thankfulness towards you. Your unworthiest servant, except your accepting have mended him,

JOHN DONNE.

Micham, July 11, 1607.

II. TO THE WORTHIEST LADY,

MRS. MAGDALEN HERBERT.

MADAM,

THIS is my second letter, in which, though I cannot tell you what is good, yet this is the worst, that I must be a great part of it; yet to me, that is recompensed, because you must be mingled. After I knew you were gone (for I must, little less than accusingly tell you, I knew not you would go) I sent my first letter, like a Bevis of Hampton, to seek adventures. This day I came to town, and to the best part of it, your house; for your memory is a state-cloth and presence; which I reverence though you be away; though I need not seek that there which I have about and within me. There, though I found my accusation, yet any thing to which your hand is, is a pardon; yet I would not burn my first letter, because, as in great destiny, no small passage can be omitted or frustrated, so in my resolution of writing almost daily to you, I would have no link of the chain broke by me, both because my letters interpret one another, and because only their number can give them weight. If I had your commission and instructions to do you the service of a legier ambassador here, I could say something of the Countess of Devon: of the States, and such things. But since to you, who are not only a world alone, but the monarchy of the world your-

self, nothing can be added, especially by me; I will sustain myself with the honour of being your servant extraordinary, and without place,

JOHN DONNE.

London, July 23, 1607.

III. TO THE WORTHIEST LADY,

MRS. MAGDALEN HERBERT.

MADAM,

AS we must die before we can have full glory and happiness, so before I can have this degree of it, as to see you by a letter, I must almost die, that is, come to London, to plaguy London; a place full of danger, and vanity, and vice, though the court be gone. And such it will be, till your return redeem it. Not that the greatest virtue in the world, which is you, can be such a marshal, as to defeat, or disperse all the vice of this place; but as higher bodies remove, or contract themselves when better come, so at your return we shall have one door open to innocence. Yet, madam, you are not such an Ireland, as produceth neither ill nor good; no spiders, nor nightingales, which is a rare degree of perfection: but you have found and practised that experiment, that even nature, out of her detesting of emptiness, if we will make that our work, to remove bad, will fill us with good things. To abstain from it was therefore but the childhood and minority of your soul, which hath been long exercised since, in your manlier, active part of doing good. Of which, since I have been a witness and subject, not to tell you sometimes, that by your influence and example I have attained to such a step of goodness,

as to be thankful, were both to accuse your power and judgment of impotency and infirmity. Your ladyship's in all services, JOHN DONNE.

August 2nd, 1607.

ON MR. GEORGE HERBERT'S BOOK,

ENTITLED THE TEMPLE, OR SACRED POEMS, SENT TO

A GENTLEWOMAN, BY MR. CRASHAW.

KNOW you, fair, on what you look?
Divinest love lies in this book:
Expecting fire from your eyes,
To kindle this his sacrifice.
When your hands untie these strings,
Think you've an angel by the wings.
One that gladly will be nigh,
To wait upon each morning sigh.
To flutter in the balmy air,
Of your well perfumed prayer.
These white plumes of his he'll lend you,
Which every day to heaven will send you,
To take acquaintance of the sphere,
And all the smooth-fac'd kindred there.
And though Herbert's name do owe
These devotions, fairest; know
That while I lay them on the shrine
Of your white hand, they are mine.

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